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The Hakluyt Society

THE QUEST AND OCCUPATION OF TAHITI BY EMISSARIES OF SPAIN IN 1772–76.

VOLUME II

SECOND SERIES

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THE QUEST AND OCCUPATION OF TAHITI BY EMISSARIES OF SPAIN DURING THE YEARS 1772–1776.

TOLD IN DESPATCHES AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS:

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND COMPILED, WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

BOLTON GLANVILL CORNEY,
Companion of the Imperial Service Order.

VOLUME II

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CORRIGENDA

Page 3, line 2...*delete the comma*
„ 23, „ 7...*for* use *read* observe
„ 41, foot-note 1... „ *A* „ A
„ 80, line 18... „ in „ with
„ 105, foot-note ... „ lxiii „ lxiv
„ 120, „ ... „ *Ataroa* read *Ata'aroa*
„ 137, „ 1... „ „ „ „
„ „ 2... „ whose other name was Vairaatoa *read* otherwise Terii-hinoi-Atua; *and before* Vairao *insert* i
„ 166, „ 1... „ *taata toa* read *ta'ata toa*
„ „ „ 4... „ *Tupuaemanu* read *Tapuaemanu*
„ 190, „ 2... „ *Tupuae Manu* read *Tapuaemanu*
„ „ „ „ *Tupuae's* read *Tapuaemanu's*
„ 191, line 1... „ [*Tupuae Manu*] read [*Tapuaemanu*]
„ 219, „ 10... „ Agüera's *read* Agüeros's
„ 229, foot-note ... „ ten *read* fourteen
„ 249, „ 1... „ *Ataaroa* read *Ata'aroa*
„ 251, line 22... „ Bonganbil *read* Bouganbil
„ 254, foot-note ... „ *Taaroa* read *Ta'aroa*
„ 259, line 1... „ mostly *read* almost
„ 266, foot-note ... „ *Ataaroa* read *Ata'aroa*
„ 338, „ 2...*after* neutral tint *insert* There are also two aquatints of the same [12. Tab. 22] and
„ 370, „ *after* silver *in the last line insert* and so does the Victoria and Albert Museum
„ 371, „ *delete all the words after* form *in line* 5 *as far as and including* nor *in line* 6
„ „ „ ...*for* [Bibl. no. 104 *bis*] *read* [Bibl. no. 105]
„ 471, „ ...*after* monochrome *insert* There are also two aquatints of the same [12. Tab. 22] and
„ 481, „ ...*for* Tetuaunurau *read* Tetua-Unurau

PREFATORY REMARKS

THE first volume of this history deals mainly with the political situation and events, in and out of Europe, which gave the Spanish Ministry cause to resent the establishment, by any foreign Power, of outposts or settlements within the 'Indies' and territorial waters claimed by King CARLOS the Third as his own rightful dominion. It reveals the precautions enjoined in various Royal Commands to Viceroys and colonial Governors for the discovery and rooting out of any such foreign settlements that might already exist on the coasts or islands of the Southern Sea; and relates how the nucleus of a small British post at Port Egmont, in the Falkland Islands, was eventually disclosed and forcibly seized under orders issued (at the King of Spain's bidding) by Don Francisco Bucareli y Ursua, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, in 1769–70.

Volume I further explains how, just at this time, the Viceroy of Peru took up the quest in western waters, and became inspired to send out a naval expedition for the rediscovery and examination of 'David's Land[1]'; and how, being less than satisfied with its results, His Excellency organised a second exploring party, in 1772, and directed the officer commanding it to include Tahiti—then only recently discovered and made known to the world—in his search, and investigations.

---

[1] *i.e.* Davis's or Easter Island (*Rapa nui*). *Cf.* Bibl. no. 32 (*a*).

The officer in question was Don DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA, an elderly, large-hearted, and upright captain in the Royal Navy, a Biscayan by birth, and described as a prudent and skilful navigator; his ship was the frigate *Aguila*, mounting 22 guns, a short account of which will be found at p. lx of the INTRODUCTION. The official Instructions issued by the Viceroy to Capt. Boenechea for this voyage are printed at pp. 263–278 of the volume mentioned, and are followed by those delivered to two Franciscan clerics, *Fr.* José Amich and *Fr.* Juan Bonamo, who were appointed to take part in the expedition, charged with the duty of laying a foundation for the rescue of the natives "from their wretched Idolatry," and for winning them over "by discreet and gentle methods to a knowledge of the true God," and, especially, to a recognition of the King of Spain as their suzerain lord.

Capt. Boenechea's journal of his commission, translated from the official copies sent home by the Viceroy and still preserved in the *Archivo general de Indias* at Sevilla, is included; but the records kept by two other members of the *Aguila's* party, Don Raimundo Bonacorsi and *Fr.* José Amich (the latter a Franciscan friar of the Ocopa College who had previously served as a Master in the Navy), had to be held over for a later page and are now presented in the first portion of the present Volume II, together with a fairly compendious vocabulary of the old Tahitian dialect, and a curious Schedule of Questions set by the Viceroy for the guidance of the expedition in collecting geographical, social, and general information.

So much for the QUEST.

We now come to the period of the *Aguila's* second voyage to Tahiti. The materials composing its history fill the major portion of this second volume—pp. 91–353—and deal more particularly with the Spaniard's OCCUPATION

of the island, and the extension of their cruise as far as Ra'iatea, and Ra'ivavae.

It was again Boenechea who embarked, on this second expedition, in command of his old ship the *Aguila*; and one may presume that the first part of her official journal was composed under his auspices. But, most unfortunately, Boenechea died (from natural causes) just when his labours were at the point of completion; and the command for the homeward voyage devolved on his senior lieutenant Don Tomás Gayangos, whose signature the journal consequently bears. Boenechea's illness was a short one, and the precise nature of it is not disclosed. It did not prevent him, however, from making his will; and he appointed his shipmate Gayangos to be its sole executor. Some attested declarations and other documents, relating to probate and the custody of Boenechea's personal effects, remain preserved in the *Archivo de Indias*.

Boenechea's fine qualities have been represented by the Viceroy Don Manuel de Amat, who observed "I felt the death of this officer keenly, because of his kindly nature and good services[1]"—liberal testimony from an autocrat of Amat's type, noted as he was for austerity of temperament and a high-handed bearing[2]. The Viceroy De Croix also alludes to Capt. Boenechea as "an officer of very distinguished merit[3]."

But, dour in manner, and inflexible in all matters of discipline, as Don Manuel de Amat undoubtedly was, this Viceroy had nevertheless many redeeming points in his nature, and was by no means all harshness within. It was the blending of his official force of character with his softer qualities and ready charity that brought distinction

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[1] Vol. I, p. 14.

[2] *Cf.* vol. I, p. xxii; and Bibl. nos. 32 and 32 (*a*).

[3] *Cf.* vol. II, p. 425.

to his reign; and caused him, personally, to be esteemed as well as feared, by those who dared measure his reputation. It was the more kindly side of the Viceroy's nature that prompted His Excellency to insist, in the Instructions, on the Tahitians being gently treated[1]; and moved him to enjoin coaxing and conciliation, not coercion, as the most proper means for securing their submission. One of the most pleasing and memorable features in this fragment of the history of exploration is, indeed, the uniformly considerate, patient, and humane treatment meted out to the natives by all the Spanish officers. Not only was this attitude enjoined by the Viceroy's Instructions, but the several narratives show, without ostentation, that it was loyally and sympathetically maintained; and in the case of a certain *alferez*, or ensign, Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca —whose name is only once mentioned in the journals, and then quite incidentally—it is significant that his biographers lay stress on that young man's good qualities in the same direction. He "carefully studied the character and genius of the natives," writes Gabriel[2], and "in his relations with them he displayed tact and courtesy, never making them a promise that he did not fulfil."

The sociable and friendly intercourse between the *Aguila's* officers and the Tahitians offers a pattern worthy to be followed by all explorers; and should go far towards redeeming Castilian gentlefolk of that period from the obloquy to which deeds of violence and oppression committed in South America have exposed their memory.

Hence it seems the more remarkable, as well as unfortunate, that the two missionary friars chosen to represent the Spanish nation, at Tahiti, during the *Aguila's* absence,

[1] See also the INTRODUCTION (vol. I, pp. xxv–xxvi) for remarks on this feature.

[2] Bibl. no. 42 *ter*; see also 38 (*a*) and 85, and *cf.* vol. I, p. lvii.

should have proved so hopelessly inept as was the case; yet, though lacking in sympathy and at times in courtesy towards the natives, their conduct was never cruel, and rarely even harsh: their foibles lay in quite the opposite direction. And this recalls an incident complained of by them in their Diary[1]. Some roysterers, exhilarated by participation in the *heiva*, gathered round the mission house in a spirit of jocular contempt (familiar enough to those who have hobnobbed with Polynesians) and jeered at the shocked and timid *Padres* within, through the reed screen of the verandah, dubbing them (amongst other epithets) "*poreho*!"—which, then as now, meant 'shell-fish.' It seems probable that the idea of this banter was to liken the good friars, living in habitual retirement within their wooden house and not daring to face the yelling and the entourage of obscene revels going on in the vicinity, to molluscs afraid to emerge from their shell. This interpretation of the jest comes, perhaps, nearer to the truth than the somewhat fanciful alternative propounded in the foot-note cited.

The journals and despatches in this collection are so explicit, and, for the most part, so consistently narrative in character, that little comment on them, as compositions or records, seems called for. Such elucidatory remarks as it has been deemed useful to offer have been printed chiefly in the form of foot-notes to the text; for facility of reference. The method has its drawbacks, however; it invites repetition, and is apt to multiply cross references where these might seem not really necessary. That feature has not been overlooked in the editing; but endeavour has been made to keep it subservient to the interests of the reader. The student may avail himself of such notes, to what extent he pleases: the bored reader is at liberty to pass

[1] *Cf.* pp. 202, 216–17, including foot-note.

any or all of them over, and will not count his loss. But many members of the Hakluyt Society are keen geographers and experts in the literature of other exploring expeditions in Tahitian waters—the writings of Capt. Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, Sydney Parkinson, M. de Bougainville, the two Forsters, William Ellis, surgeon, and William Ellis, missionary, the historic account of Capt. Sam Wallis's voyage compiled by Dr Hawkesworth, the *Duff* volume, Vancouver's work, Turnbull's, and others[1]. Comparisons with passages in the texts of these authors have therefore been freely indicated, in the foot-notes.

But it has been thought desirable to intersperse, in addition, a few editorial paragraphs (always within square brackets) between the various journals and despatches, in order to gain continuity in the subject-matter of the work. It is hoped that such explanatory paragraphs in the second volume, as in the first, may be found to serve the purpose for which they are intended.

Looking through the two volumes, from beginning to end, I am encouraged to affirm that, saving one document which is necessarily reserved for separate issue (Máximo Rodríguez' diary), the history of the Spanish mission to Tahiti is here presented in a complete form. Only two other papers, perhaps, might have been included in the compilation if I had been able to find them. One of these should contain the Instructions mentioned by Cayetano de Lángara[2] as having been issued to him by the Viceroy Amat on the 27th of September, 1775 (the day he put to sea). Those Instructions have, however, not come to light; and there is no clue to them in the Viceroy's index of despatches. The other missing paper is Amat's despatch

[1] Bibl. nos. 28, 29, 30; 10; 84; 19; 40, 41; 107; 36; 51; 96; 121 *bis*; 120 *bis*.

[2] *Cf.* p. 368, lines 17–19 and note 2.

no. 763, addressed to Don Julian de Arriaga on the 1st of April, 1773. It is indexed as submitting the Service Records of Don Domingo de Boenechea and Don Juan Hervé to that date, and might therefore prove of some interest to readers of those officers' doings in the Tahiti commission; but the absence of these two documents does not break the thread of the main story with which this work is concerned, and is not of any real importance to it.

The narrative and dissertations by Don José de Andía y Varela (pp. 221–317) form perhaps the most generally interesting of all the ship journals in this collection. It, and its writer, have already been discussed in the INTRODUCTION[1]. Although the Viceroy evidently exercised rigid care in his choice of Andía as a helpmate for Boenechea, in the second expedition, His Excellency left no record in his despatches, nor in his Recital, by which we may judge what satisfaction he accorded to this prudent and loyal shipmaster for the careful conduct of his share in the fortunes of the *Aguila's* mission, and his punctilious fulfilment of the duties and obligations prescribed in the storeship's charter-party.

That Andía y Varela's journal should have received little, if any, official recognition of its merits is curious; that it should have remained the principal authentic source of information about the second and most important of the *Aguila's* voyages to Tahiti is also curious. But that, in the interval between then and now, it should have been twice printed (in Spanish) yet twice lost sight of for fifty years at a time, and never translated into any other language until to-day, seems even more remarkable. Its interest, its merits, its record of new discoveries, its independent character, deserved earlier recognition: especially

[1] Vol. I, pp. xlii–xlvii.

by such an historian as Admiral Burney[1], who was himself present at Tahiti with Capt. Cook, in 1777, when the Spanish mission house and memorial cross there became revealed, and who might therefore have been expected to feel a particular interest in their history.

In these circumstances the task of presenting Andía y Varela's Journal now to readers of English, under the seal and warranty of the Council of the Hakluyt Society, has been a welcome one to the translator. Let one hope that, by this means, the shipmaster's "crowning wish" may yet, albeit vicariously, be "attained"; and that, on the part of the Society's members and other readers, there will at last "ensue that satisfaction[2]" to which he so ardently aspired, but which it seems was denied him—at any rate by the Viceroy—in his lifetime.

A few more particulars about the *Diario de Lima*, in which some account of the *Aguila's* mission was made public in 1792, have been gathered since the first volume[3] of this history went to press. It was the first daily newspaper ever printed in South America, being founded in 1790 and conducted by one Jaime Bausate y Mesa, a native of Estremadura in Old Spain who, at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven years, had then only recently come to the colonies. The first number appeared on October 1, but the paper proved short-lived, surviving for only two years, during the latter one of which its editorship passed to Don Martín Saldaña. Its full title was [*El*] *Diario / de / Lima: / curioso, erudito, económico y comercial. / Año de* MDCCLXXXX. / *Tomo I. / Por /* Don Jaime Bausate y Mesa. Each number usually comprised

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[1] *Cf.* vol. I, pp. xxxix, xl, and Bibl. no. 21 *bis*.
[2] See Andía's preamble to his Journal, p. 223.
[3] *Cf.* p. xxxvii.

a single sheet, folded into four pages; but some numbers occupied eight pages. It appeared daily during a portion of its career; and the account it gives of Boenechea's voyage occurs in the number for June the 1st, 1792. The subscription to it was 12 rls.[1] a month, delivered in Lima[2]. It seems to have inspired the idea of the *Mercurio Peruano*[3], a really scientific periodical, for the times, which appeared in twelve tomes (4°) during 1791–5.

In the INTRODUCTION to this work (vol. I, pp. xl–xli), and in sundry of the foot-notes, mention is made of the oblivion which for many years shrouded the *Aguila's* geographical discoveries. Admiral Krusenstern did so much useful work for the diffusion of hydrographic knowledge, by collecting and sifting records of exploring voyages, that later compilers have been apt to accept his *Memoires* [Bibl. no. 58] as exhaustive and infallible. But we know now, by the light of more recent researches, that his labours were not exhaustive, and their results not infallible; though the information contained in his volumes was fuller, and, so far as it went, more accurate, and better marshalled, than any printed summary of a kindred character issued before Krusenstern's time.

The publication of Boenechea's, Gayangos', and Andía y Varela's records should now serve to establish the true tale of their discoveries and do justice to the work of these navigators, so simply and modestly set forth in their journals. A great thinker has declared that "the only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats; the history of what was done and seen, out of the mouths of the men who did and saw[4]." Critics may deem that too

[1] About half-a-crown.

[2] Bibl. no. 114 (*a*).

[3] Bibl. no. 115.

[4] The idea is not new; and one is tempted to suspect that Ruskin culled it from Montaigne (Chap. LXVII).

sweeping a statement, and one not meriting universal application; but it enshrines a strong element of truth, and cites a principle which has not only inspired the method of presenting history adopted in these particular volumes, but governs the general scheme and purpose for whose fulfilment the Hakluyt Society was founded.

The commanders of the *Aguila* and *Júpiter* sighted, named, and laid down on their chart, in all twenty-two islands of which they themselves had no previous knowledge. Some seventeen of this number, however, had already been met with and reported by Wallis, Cook, and Bougainville; while, in the case of *Anaa* (and perhaps also of *Makatea*), there is good reason to ascribe their first discovery to Quirós.

It may therefore be useful to recapitulate here all the original discoveries made during the *Aguila's* three expeditions to Tahiti, and now verified as such; they are accordingly set forth in the table opposite.

Andía furthermore believed that he saw land in the direction where *Makatea* lay (pp. 239–40), and considered it to be that island as subsequently named and described to him by native pilots. But it is obvious, from the position of his vessel at the time, that he must have been deceived (*ibid.*, note 3). Both he and Gayangos also mention an island that they thought they saw in the vicinity of *Tapuaemanu* (pp. 166, 306, 316) and understood, from the natives on board, to be called *Emanu* or *Manua*. There is no land near the position assigned to this fly-away, excepting *Tapuaemanu* itself; but the appearance lay almost on the bearing of the real *Manua*—better known as "*Tubuai*"—which, as a matter of fact, however, is situated some three hundred and fifty miles farther to the S. and W. I am indebted to Mr Tati Salmon, District Chief of Papara, for the identification of this name *Manua*, which at first caused me many doubts.

Original Discoveries made by the Spanish explorers: Annis 1772–1775.

Date	Island	Name bestowed	Situation	Discoverer	Ship
1772	TAUERE	*San Simon y Judas*	Tuamotu or 'Low' Archipelago	Domingo de Boenechea	Frigate *Aguila*
„	HARAIKI	*San Quintín*	„	„	„
1774	TATAKOTO[1]	*San Narciso*	„	„	„
		„		José de Andía y Varela	Storeship *Júpiter*
„	AMANU	*Las Animas*	„	José de Andía y Varela	„
„	HIKUERU	*San Juan*	„	Domingo de Boenechea	Frigate *Aguila*
„	TAHANEA	*San Blas*	„	„	„
1775	RA'IVAVAE[2]	*Santa Rosa*	Austral Group	Lt Tomás Gayangos	„
		...		José de Andía y Varela	Storeship *Júpiter*

[1] Discovered and named by each commander independently, on the same astronomical day, without sighting the other's vessel.

[2] Discovered by both commanders jointly, sailing in company: named by Lt Gayangos.

And this leads me to express here my obligations and grateful thanks to the same gentleman for many friendly communications and words of counsel vouchsafed on points concerning local history and usages, both at the time of my residence in Tahiti and during the six years that have since elapsed. Descended, through his late honoured mother, from Tu-i-te-ra'i Arorua, Head Chieftain of the clan Teva and grandfather of that Tu-i-te-ra'i whose son Amo and daughter-in-law Purea figure so prominently in the narratives of Capts. Wallis and Cook, and others, Tati—as he is (*more tahitense*) more familiarly called—unites in his mind the patriotic sentiment and pride of race that his family history inspires, with a healthy discrimination instilled by an English education and French experience. The latter Tu-i-te-ra'i's lady was Te-roro-e-ora i Fare-roi, and their daughter Tetua-Unurau married Aroma-i-te-ra'i (her cousin). Te Vahine Moeatua, better known as Purahi, or O Pu for short, was the daughter of this union, born about 1736, and was the "Opù" or "Opo" of these Journals[1]. My discussions and communications with Tati thus brought me into touch with living members of the family of Teva Chiefs to which Purahi and her son Vehiatua, who may be termed the principal hero of the story on the side of the natives, belonged. His father, Purahi's first husband, was the Overlord, or principal *arii*, of Taiarapu—the old Vehiatua whose tribesmen vanquished the forces of Tutaha assisted by Tu and his northern partisans, at the isthmus of Taravao in 1771, and whose death occurred a few months later, before the first visit of the Spaniards. "This Vehiatua," writes Dr Hawkesworth, quoting from Banks' MS. notes, "was a thin old man, with a very white head and beard, and had with him a very comely woman about five and

[1] See the table of her lineage, p. xxxviii.

twenty years old, whose name was TOUDIDDE. We had often heard the name of this woman, and, from report and observation, we had reason to think that she was the OBEREA of this Peninsula[1]." The name "Toudidde" corresponds with "Tautiti" (or Tauhitihiti) whom Andía y Varela mentions (p. 276) as having been the spouse or paramour of old Vehiatua's elder son, renounced by him when he succeeded his father in office[2]. But the interview with Cook and Banks took place in June of 1769, and this statement must therefore be accepted with caution (if Banks' estimate of "Toudidde's" age was approximately right) since Georg Forster considered young Vehiatua to be only "17 or 18 years" old in 1773[3]—about twenty months or so after his father's death—while the Spanish *padres* set him down as 18 or 20 in 1774–5. The description (excepting as to age) and repute attributed by Banks to "Toudidde" would seem rather to point to Purahi as the lady of whom he and Captain Cook had often heard and were led to regard as the "Oberea" (Purea) of the lesser peninsula, especially when the similarity in names is considered. Be that as it may, Purahi's sons each assumed the hereditary rank and title of "Vehiatua" when they respectively succeeded to the Overlordship.

Much of the family history of their clan, the TEVA, has been preserved in native sagas and other forms of oral tradition, and was gathered together into writing by the late Arii Taimai. Time was, she explains, when (some three centuries or so ago) when the heads of two families in Tahiti used the right to gird themselves with the *maro ura*, or sacred cincture of scarlet loriquets' feathers, which constituted the insignia of most exalted rank and godliness. They were the Chief of Vaiari, a small district adjoining the isthmus

[1] Bibl. no. 51, vol. II, p. 158. [2] *Cf.* p. 276.
[3] So did Juan Hervé: see vol. I, p. 357.

on its western border, and the Chiefess of Punaauia, situated farther along the same coast of Tahiti-nui. The titular designation of the Vaiari Chief was Terii-nui-o-Tahiti[1]: that of the lady was Tetua-nui-e-Marua-i-te-ra'i[2]. But the Overlord of Papara, whose district lies between the two above-named, possessed alone the right to wear the *maro tea*, the nap of which was formed of saffron-coloured feathers; and he was officially styled Terii-rere-i-To'oara'i[3].

These august personages were termed *arii rahi*, or Overlords; and, being esteemed to be descended from the gods of the nation, their persons were regarded as sacred, so that subordinate *arii* and *ra'atira* or gentry stripped themselves to the waist in their presence in token of respect. More than this, the very ground the *arii rahi* stood on became *ipso facto* their freehold; and for this reason they were carried on men's shoulders whenever they went abroad, that they might not ruthlessly or inadvertently alienate the property of their vassals and neighbours. Yet, inviolable as the *arii rahi* were, probably neither one preserved that character as of right throughout every part of the island; though honours and hospitality were freely extended to them by courtesy, in peace time. They were sacrosanct only amongst their own people and in the tribal domains of Chiefs with whom their families were connected by marriage—an affinity that counted for much in the precedence, and political relations, of Tahitian society.

In the remote past the *arii rahi* of Vaiari was in like wise Patriarch of the TEVA, a large and influential clan occupying the south-western part of Tahiti-nui and all the

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[1] 'The Lord paramount.'

[2] 'The arch-goddess Marua of the heavens.'

[3] The name 'Rere' suggests a connection with *rearea* (yellow), from *rea*, turmeric: a widespread Polynesian root. To'oara'i was the old *marae* of the Papara Chiefs, before Amo and Purea built the enormous pile of Mahaiatea.

lesser peninsula called Taiarapu. It seems to have been the only clan of its quality and magnitude in the island: its prestige had no parallel, and was rivalled only by that of certain chiefly septs of Ra'iatea (the Olympus of Eastern Polynesia), Mo'orea, and Atehuru—which last included the Punaauia family. The patriarchal dignity passed long ago, however, from Terii-nui to Terii-rere, his kinsman of Papara; whether by devolution or by usurpation is, I think, a matter of doubt. But thenceforward the right to convoke the Teva chieftains and their clansmen for moot, raid, or defence vested in the last named Chief—the wearer of the *maro tea* in the *marae* To'oara'i.

The Teva lands extended over eight districts (a typical number in Polynesia, significant perhaps of subdivision); but the clan comprised two stocks only: the inner division or Teva-i-uta who occupied the districts west of the isthmus as far as to the borders of Paea, and the seaward division or Teva-i-ta'i who dominated the south-eastern or lesser peninsula. The principal chieftain of the Teva-i-ta'i was the lord of Hui and Taiarapu, two districts united under the name Teahupoo (skull-heap) and situated at the southernmost part of the peninsula now called Taiarapu as a whole.

The hereditary title or style of this Chief was Vehiatua, and, in some respects at least, he acted as lord-lieutenant of the peninsula under the suzerainty of the Papara Patriarch; for it was to Vehiatua only that the latter addressed his summons to council or war for all the Teva-i-ta'i districts, and it was Vehiatua's office to pass on the call to each of his peers and barons. Thus we know that, as far back as tradition preserves their history, the Vehiatuas were hereditary Chiefs of the most notable rank and influence in Taiarapu[1].

[1] A 'Vehiatua' was still the officially recognised Chief of Teahupoo district in 1865, if not later, though not a direct descendant.

We know, furthermore, that Tautira—Hatutira or Fatutira as it used to be called—was not always the patrimony or residential demesne of the Vehiatuas, and that formerly they dwelt in Teahupoo, on the south coast of the peninsula; but the limits of their sway in that period can no longer be stated clearly, because of changes that have taken place in some of the district boundaries and local names through internecine contentions.

About nine generations before Arii Taimai's, or say the middle of the seventeenth century, the *arii* of Hatutira was one Taví, who "prided himself on being as generous as he was strong." Taví's wife Taurua, a maiden of Hitiaa, was considered such a paragon of loveliness and affability that Tu-i-te-ra'i, the reigning Overlord of Papara, relying on his vassal's generosity and his own precedence, and having duly observed the formalities proper in such a case according to the local rules of etiquette, thought fit to borrow the damsel, under a promise to return her to Hatutira at the end of seven days. Such were her attractions, however, that Tu-i-te-ra'i proved loth to part with her, and the beautiful and bewitching Taurua continued with him at Papara. Taví avenged this perfidy by raiding the Overlord's home district, where a party of swashbucklers not only succeeded in recovering Taurua, but actually made a prisoner of Tu-i-te-ra'i himself. They were on the point of putting him to death, but he protested that only a Chief his equal in rank might exercise this privilege with propriety; whereupon his captors, "feeling the force of this objection," carried him wounded, bound and blindfolded, into Taví's presence at Hatutira—a matter of twenty-five miles' journey. Taví, filled with pride and satisfaction at the triumph of his men, shrank from slaying his now helpless adversary: particularly in his own home where the dictates of hospitality would have rendered such an act dishonourable. "A great Chief vanquished and spared must be

treated as a guest and as an equal," says Arii Taimai. But such, indeed, was Taví's nobility of heart that he went a step farther and excelled himself for generosity by voluntarily relinquishing to Tu-i-te-ra'i the fair *causa causans* of the uproar, whom he nevertheless bemoaned—albeit a broken chattel—as his "beautiful morning star[1]."

The overthrow of Papara in this conflict was necessarily (as Arii Taimai observes in her *Memoirs*) an event of wide public import, and one too serious not to affect intertribal political relations throughout the island. Taví's triumph soon made him, in fact, the most considerable Chief in all Tahiti for the nonce; and even the Atehuru family dared not openly oppose him. Small wonder, then, that he developed the Tahitian equivalent for 'swollen head,' which reached a climax when he asserted his supremacy by declaring a *rahui*, or general embargo, for the endowment of his little son Taví Hau-roa, the first-born of the famed Taurua. A *rahui* was, of course, a serious affair: it meant the reservation for the time being of all natural produce over and above the bare necessities of the people, and of every hand-made chattel as well. It was in fact a sumptuary law of the most arbitrary kind. The prerogative to impose a *rahui* could therefore only be exercised by the most aristocratic and powerful Chiefs. Yet although Taví's direct authority was limited to his own district of Hatutira —and now, by right of conquest, Papara also—such was the veneration of Tahitians for their ancient institutions, that his decree soon received recognition, and obedience was rendered to it by courtesy throughout the island, so that its influence ceased only at Mo'orea.

The very nature of a *rahui*, however, forbade its indiscriminate prolongation; while the suddenness of Taví's

[1] The name 'Taurua' *means* morning star. Tu-i-te-ra'i, on the other hand, compared her, so the verse goes, to the brilliant Rarotongan loriquet of scarlet plumage.

ascendancy favoured the growth of envy and stimulated discontent. His foremost rival was his neighbour and erstwhile suzerain the then Vehiatua, in Teahupoo, a kinsman of the discomfited Tu-i-te-ra'i. This Vehiatua had a daughter Tetua-e-huri, who was by birth and position certainly no less a great lady than Taurua had been before the path of virtue became tortuous for her: indeed, her ancestry was of higher degree than Taurua's, for Hitiaa was an outlandish district of no particular account, as it has remained to this day. Tetua had not long been married at that time: her husband was Ta'aroa Manahune, the ancestor of Tu, who was *arii* of Pare-Arue at the opposite extreme of Tahiti-nui, and over him also the lady Tetua had somewhat the advantage in social prestige. It chanced, about this time, that Tetua was expected to give birth to an heir; and a conclave of Hui midwives, who had been summoned to consider the augury, recommended an addition of baked pork to her dietary as a very desirable prophylactic measure in the circumstances. Nobody liked the thraldom of a *rahui*, and it may be that the opportunity was thus seized, or even designed, for breaking through the embargo on swine, in defiance of Taví's decree. At any rate, notes Arii Taimai, Vehiatua did not enforce its observance in this crisis; and, a hog being slain, pork was dressed and set before her ladyship, and she did eat.

By this act an overt and dire insult was offered to Taví's dignity; and, instantly taking up the gauntlet, he sped with an army of fighting men into Teahupoo, where they were signally routed by the warriors of that district led by Vehiatua. The latter Chief proved less magnanimous towards his assailant than Taví had shown himself in the affair with Tu-i-te-ra'i; and, not content with seizing and occupying all the Hatutira demesnes, appears to have banished Taví from the island altogether

—to the Tuamotu it is said—for at this link in the chain of events he disappears from history. It is stated, however, that the Chief's young son came back to Tahiti after a time, and was allowed a small tenure in Afaahiti, with some privileges; but one fateful day, when flying his kite across the isthmus, the wind carried it off and, in coming to earth away to leeward, it got entangled in a tree within the very sacred precincts of the scarlet-feather *marae* of Farepua in Vaiari. The arch-*tahua* chanced to be engaged just then in some ritual; and the unhappy boy, not realising the profanity of his trespass, in the excitement of pursuing his kite, set about climbing the tree in an endeavour to recover it. For this sacrilege he was instantly punished with death.

It was in this manner that Vehiatua's family became lords in residence of Hatutira, and built their manorial homestead and *marae* on the breezy and pleasant strip of flat land that juts into the lagoon beside the embouchure of the Vai-te-piha, where the Spaniards found them established in 1772–6. These events added influence and lustre to the Vehiatuas' hereditary supremacy over other districts of the lesser peninsula. They did more: for Vehiatua-i-Mata'i grew to be not only a powerful ally but a standing menace (according as circumstances might point) to the senior stock of his clan and its Overlord the Patriarch of Papara—who, before this time, had acquired the sacred, as distinguished from the temporal, character from Terii-nui-o-Tahiti of Vaiari. This menace became extinguished, later on, by a marriage between Vehiatua of the next generation but one and the Papara Chiefess Te-eva Pirioi, granddaughter of Tu-i-te-ra'i Aro-rua and his adopted wife, the renowned Taurua, and great aunt in the fifth generation back of Arii Taimai herself. From that marriage issued another Vehiatua; and this last one's son, if the generations are rightly recorded, was the identical "thin

old man, with a very white head and beard," who conversed with Banks and Captain Cook on the 27th of June, 1769, at "Oaitipeha," where they found him "sitting near some pretty canoe awnings, under which, we supposed, he and his attendants slept[1]." This "Waheatua," as Hawkesworth spells the name, was the husband of Purahi, as above explained; and the elder of their two sons was the Vehiatua called Terii TA'ATA-URAURA[2], the hero of the natives' intercourse with the Spaniards, and the last but one (his brother) of the direct line in that dynasty.

The illness and death of this young Chief at Tautira, during the sojourn of the *padres* and interpreter there, afford a pathetic and deeply regrettable incident in the history of the Spanish mission. It had, possibly, not only much to do with the unsuccessful issue of the *padres*' share in that mission, but may have been actually brought about by the foreigners' presence. For it is quite conceivable that the *Aguila's* people unwittingly introduced among the islanders micro-organisms against whose pathogenicity they themselves, though not the natives, were by long habituation immune: as has often happened to other remote island communities[3].

The following passages penned by Georg Forster offer a description of Vehiatua's personality in 1773:—

> [At *Tautira*, August 23, 1773.]—"The captains, with several officers, Dr Sparrman, my father, and myself, went on shore early on the 23rd. We proceeded about a mile along the river from

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[1] Bibl. no. 51, vol. II, p. 158. This interview took place at the spot pictured at p. 124 of the present volume.

[2] Hawkesworth (*loc. cit.*) writes him down "Te-aree," mistaking his title for his name. The personal name of this Vehiatua is nowhere mentioned in the Spanish journals; but, as the elder of Purahi's sons, he is well remembered in the family traditions, and his personal name is here supplied on the authority of the present Chief of the Teva.

[3] Witness the "strangers cold" at S[t] Kilda: measles in Fiji: &c., &c.

which we filled our casks, being conducted by Opao, one of the natives, who had lodged on board. A great croud coming down towards us, those who surrounded us pulled off their upper garments, so as to uncover their shoulders, which is a mark of respect due to the king. We presently joined the croud, in the midst of whom Aheatua sat down on a large stool, cut out of solid wood, which one of his people had hitherto carried. He immediately recollected captain Cook, and made room for him on his stool, while captain Furneaux, and the rest of us, chose large stones for our seats. An immense number of natives thronged about us on all sides, and included us in a very narrow circle, increasing the heat to such a degree, that the king's attendants were frequently obliged to keep them back, by beating them.

* * * * *

O-AHEATUA, the king of O-Taheitee-eetee (Little Taheitee), which is otherwise called Tiarraboo, was a youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age, well-made, about five feet six inches high, and likely to grow taller. His countenance was mild, but unmeaning; and rather expressed some signs of fear and distrust at our first meeting, which suited ill with the ideas of majesty, and yet are often the characteristics of lawless power. His colour was of the fairest of his people, and his lank hair of a light brown, turning into reddish at the tips, or being what is commonly called sandy. He wore at present no other dress than a white sash (*maro*) round the waist to the knees, made of the best kind of cloth, and his head as well as all the rest of his body was uncovered.

On both sides of him sat several chiefs and nobles, distinguished by their superior stature, which is the natural effect of the immense quantity of food which they consume. One of them was punctured in a surprising manner, which we had never seen before, large black blotches of various shapes almost covering his arms, legs, and sides. This man, whose name was E-Tee[1], was also remarkable for his enormous corpulence, and for the deference which the aree (king) paid to him, consulting him almost upon every occasion.

The king, during the time he sat on the stool, which was his throne, preserved a grave or rather stiff deportment, scarce to be expected at his years, though it seemed to be studied and assumed, only to make our meeting more solemn[2]."

[1] Ti'i-torea.

[2] Bibl. no. 40, vol. I, pp. 304–6.

In point of fact, as these Spanish records prove, Vehiatua's character was notable for gentleness, affection and tractability; and, so far from exhibiting signs of the instinct of "lawless power" which Forster thought he detected in the features of this young Chief[1], his words and actions seem rather to have reflected the timidity of a fawn than portrayed the fierceness of a wolf. That he permitted human sacrifices to take place, as narrated in the *padres'* and interpreter's diaries, was not his fault and does not affect the conclusion; for those rites were prescribed by long established custom in accordance with Tahitian cult, and were conducted by the *Tahua* or functionaries of the hierurgic caste whom Vehiatua, ill as he was, would have been powerless to oppose in regard to so time-honoured, mystic, and—in the people's view—auspicious an institution.

Neither Hodges nor Webber has bequeathed to us any portrait of Vehiatua. The former had good opportunities for securing one in 1773, but seems not to have used them. The latter did not visit Tahiti until after Vehiatua's death; but he then made an interesting sketch of the young Chief's body as it lay shrouded in the little lich-rest on the islet between the Vai-te-piha and the bay-shore at Tautira, in 1777, a finished pen and wash drawing of which was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1789[2]. *Fr.* Amich relates that this Chief was "very fair and ruddy, notwithstanding sunburn" (p. 80); and L[t] Blas de Barreda noticed that "he had the lower lip blue" (tattoo'd), constituting the caste mark of the Vehiatua dynasty (p. 471): this, Tati tells me, was the case.

[1] In this sally, Forster was but drawing his bow at a venture, for he had not been a week at Tahiti when he met Vehiatua, and he never saw him after that day.

[2] See pp. 470–1, with notes. K 7. Tab. 74 (4) is an aquatint, not a hand drawing. Another similar aquatint, but in different shades, is 12. Tab. 22 (31): both published by Mr Webber himself.

Vehiatua's mother Purahi, of whom local tradition still tells as "noted for power of mind in governing in the interests of her weak husband," became a widow, as some say in 1773, but as I think in 1771 or the early part of 1772—since none of the Spaniards (who first reached Tahiti in November of the last-named year) make any mention of her original lord; though they frequently allude to Ti'i-torea, her second husband, both as such and as step-father to the *arii* her son. This Chief, of lesser rank than Vehiatua, is the one quoted by the Spaniards as "Titorea," and by Georg Forster as "E-Tee"—another example of the ready adaptability of Spanish orthography to Tahitian speech sounds, and the rude inaccuracy of the English habit of spelling at that period. Ti'i-torea was distinguished for his courtesy, tact, and liberal judgment. His body was tattoo'd almost all over, so that Bayly the astronomer declared in his journal "he appeared black at a distance" (p. 478). The same diarist styles Ti'i-torea the "prime Minister," and considered him an "intelligent, clever Man, for an Indian" (*ibid.*); while Edgar, the *Discovery's* Master, writing in his log in 1777, alludes to him more bluntly as "the Man that had the care of the Young Chief" (p. 475)[1].

The person and individuality of Tu, the paramount Chief in the island during Cook's time, have been so freely described by eye-witnesses whose writings are the classics of Tahitian history that little need be added about him. Moreover, the circumstances which gave Tu ascendancy over contemporary Chiefs of Tahiti (and led white men to style him the "King," which he was not) are too intricate to warrant explanation here. They are best set forth in the late Arii Taimai's *Memoirs*[2]; and are sketched more or less

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[1] *Cf.* also Forster, quoted *ante*, p. xxxiii.

[2] Bibl. no. 8.

inexactly in the "Preliminary Discourse" and Appendix to the *Duff's* voyage[1], in Ellis the missionary's *Polynesian Researches*[2], and in Turnbull's *Voyage*[3], which are all more accessible volumes. The journals of the Spanish officers and the *padres*' diary throw little additional light on Tu's character or political career, owing chiefly to the comparatively early date at which they knew him. But one gains a closer acquaintance with this Chief, and also with Vehiatua, from the narrative of the Interpreter-marine, Máximo Rodríguez, who lived on terms of intimate good-fellowship with them both, and wrote his notes day by day with the simplicity and artlessness natural to a youth of his humble birth and position, and without thought of their ever being committed to print.

Less generally known than Tu's character, however, are his lineage and relationship with Vehiatua; and, since the Spaniards' journals bear so much on their intercourse with these Chiefs, some particulars of their family affairs seem admissible at this point.

The following narration and genealogies, constructed and tabulated mainly from data recorded by the late Te Vahine Arii Taimai, to whose daughter the ex-Queen Consort I am indebted for permission to use them, may afford the reader a clearer *coup d'œil* of these affinities :—

In the sixteenth, and perhaps a part of the seventeenth century, Tu's ancestors were obscure Chiefs in Fakarava, an atoll of the Tuamotu group situated some 220 miles to the E.N.E. of Tahiti. One of these gentry reached Tahiti in a canoe—whether by accident or by design is no longer known—gaining the land by way of the Taunoa passage in Pare-Arue, where he was generously received and became the *hoa* or protégé, and afterwards son-in-law, of the

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[1] Bibl. no. 96. [2] Bibl. no. 36.
[3] Bibl. no. 120*bis*.

local *arii* named Mana-i-hiti, whom in due course he succeeded in office. From this marriage there descended one Ta'aroa Manahune—a strange anomaly in names—and his grandson, or more probably great grandson, was Hapai'i, later called Teu, who, about 1740–45, married a lady of Ra'iatea somewhat above him in rank, Tetupaia by name. These were the parents of Tu, the date of whose birth has been set down by Arii Taimai as 1743, but in my judgment (based on the evidence of his portrait drawn by Hodges[1], and the estimates of his age recorded by Banks, Forster, and the surgeons Ellis and Samwell) was some four or five years later than that. The cousinship between Tu and Vehiatua of the Spaniards' time arose from the marriage of the above-mentioned Ta'aroa Manahune, who was honoured by receiving for wife the lady Tetua-e-huri i Taiarapu, daughter of Vehiatua then reigning at Teahupoo in the lesser peninsula (*cf.* p. xxx); she was of more august rank than himself, and flourished about the time of transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Old Vehiatua, the husband of Purahi, was a grandson or great-grandson of Tetua-e-huri's brother, being of the same generation as Tu's father Hapai'i (Teu); and their respective sons were therefore second or third cousins, if the number of generations between Tetua-e-huri's and theirs has been correctly recorded. This relationship is accounted by natives a somewhat closer family tie than we usually claim for it.

Tu's full name or title was Tu-nui-ea-i-te-Atua, which has been aptly rendered by Lieut. de Boris as "Qui stat ingens nitens ad Deum." But until his assumption of the *maro ura*—the 'scarlet girdle' of supreme rank and dignity —he was customarily mentioned as "Tu" and is nowadays known to his descendants as "Tu Vairatoa," or "Pomare I," to distinguish him from his son Tu, who became Pomare II.

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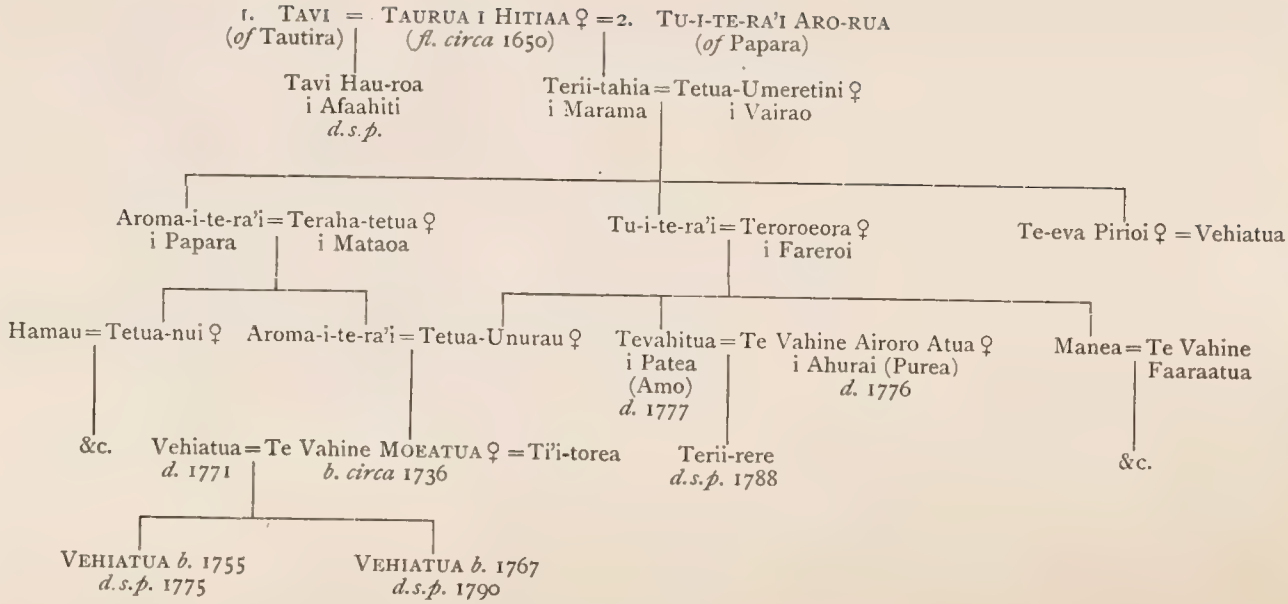
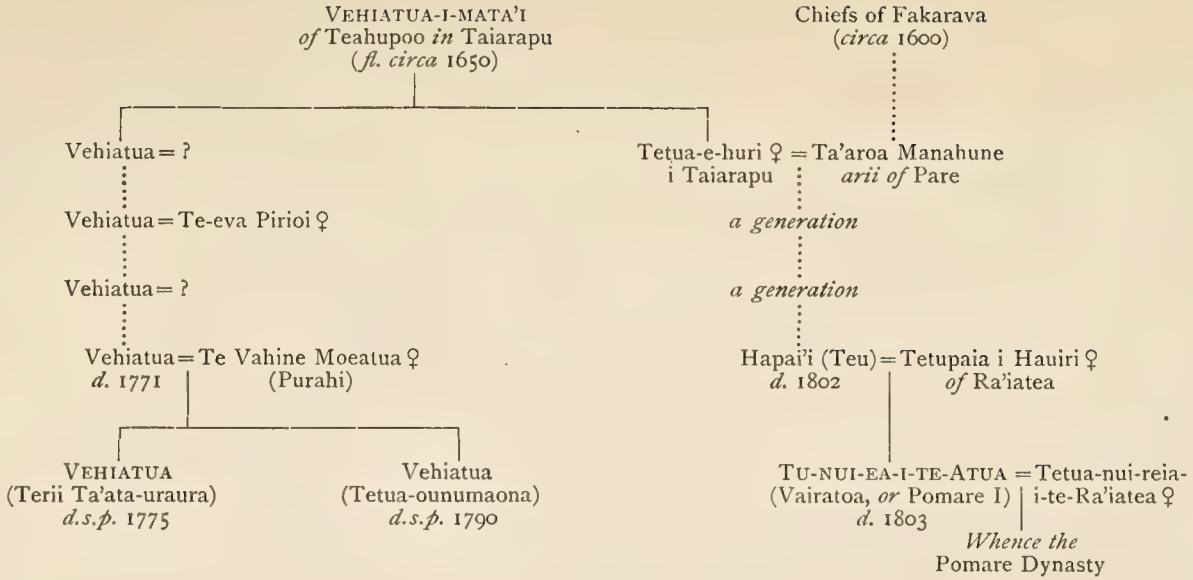
[1] Now in the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich Hospital.



Lineage of Te Vahine MOEATUA (*Purahi*).



The cousinship of TU with VEHIATUA.

When that son was born, in or about 1782, the child took precedence of his father in accordance with Tahitian custom; and the latter thereafter bared his shoulders in the former's presence, as depicted in the historic painting by Robert Smirke, R.A., from which a well-known engraving was executed by Bartolozzi for the Missionary Society.

In his youth Tu was ambitious, but never valiant. As he advanced in years and experience he rendered many useful services to his people; but he gradually gave way to temptations, including those that arose from the presence of low and unscrupulous white men. His ambitions then degenerated into avarice, and the best points in his character failed to outlive the expansion of his influence and property brought about by his successful rivalry over Terii-rere (the son of Amo and Purea), his marriage with Tetua-nui-reia-i-te-Ra'iatea, and the adoption of Matavai bay as a resort for white men's ships. Tu's end was sudden. He died in a fit or some kind of seizure—perhaps angina, or the rupture of a blood-vessel, if one may judge by the scanty particulars recorded—whilst sitting in a canoe, on the 3rd of September, 1803, twelve weeks after his younger son Navahoroa (who had usurped the hegemony of Tautira in Taiarapu from the failing line of Vehiatuas), and less than ten months after his aged father Hapai'i or Teu[1].

It was my fortune to make acquaintance (in 1905) with a 'Captain' Edgar, master mariner, who came then to Fiji from Samoa; and I knew him quite well during that and the following year, down to the time of his death, which occurred at Suva from the infirmities of age. The old man had begun his career as a blue-jacket, and was wont to relate his experiences in the Crimea, where, during the

[1] Bibl. no. 36, and *Transactions of the London Missionary Society* (vol. II, 1804, p. 292).

siege of Sevastopol, he had fought shoulder to shoulder with a certain midshipman who afterwards became a distinguished Admiral of the Fleet. This was no other than the late Sir Algernon Lyons, G.C.B.; and, with a true seaman's generosity, he still wrote kindly and appreciative letters to his old shipmate of the *Albion* even fifty years later, some of which Edgar showed me. In one of the many chats I had with Edgar in the hospital at Suva, he mentioned that his grandfather Thomas had sailed with Captain Cook, and was present in H.M.S. *Discovery* when the famous navigator fell at Hawaii. He added that his mother possessed a number of charts drawn by Thomas Edgar, which he himself had often pored over in his younger days. But he was never able to call to mind any journal of his grandfather's; and, advancing cerebral disease soon afterwards rendering his speech unintelligible, while, at the same time, his right hand lost its ability to write, my efforts to secure a clue to his surviving relatives were foiled.

It was to be expected, however, that Thomas Edgar's log-book and papers had been handed in to the Admiralty when the ships returned home, in accordance with a clause in the Secret Instructions issued to Captain Cook (which are printed in the official narrative of his voyage[1])—especially in the case of the Master's log. This was in fact what happened, and the "Log of.....H.M.S. *Discovery*..... kept by Thomas Edgar, Master" is preserved intact and in good condition among the Public Records. It is a thick, heavy folio[2], full of interesting "Remarks" and illustrated by several plans or insets of the most notable islands and harbours visited, very neatly drawn with pen and wash by Thomas Edgar himself. One of these has the site of

[1] Bibl. no. 28, vol. I, p. xxxv.

[2] P.R.O.—Ships Logs, Supplementary; Series II, no. 21.

the Spaniards' mission house and cross at Tautira, which Edgar visited and described, marked in dotted lines corresponding exactly with the situation I ascribed for it (*cf.* vol. I, p. xlix).

Another MS. containing a transcript of the "Remarks," in three different handwritings of the period, exists in the British Museum; it is a recent acquisition[1]. An excerpt from the original log is appended to the present volume as a Supplementary Paper (no. X).

The Plates and Charts.

The frontispiece of this volume is a portrait of the Viceroy Don Manuel de Amat, executed in photogravure from a lithograph of a pencil drawing made by Don Evaristo San Christóval from the oil-painting formerly in the Vice-regal palace at Lima. It was the custom for every Viceroy to give sittings for an official portrait, and the collection was preserved intact until wars and rebellion invaded the capital and imperilled its treasures. Amat's portrait was then secretly removed and kept in safe seclusion for several years; but is understood to still exist.

The view at page 124 is from a photograph I took at Tautira in 1909 from a point opposite the spot where the *Aguila* moored. It shows, in the foreground, the part of the beach where the Spaniards were accustomed to land and embark, and the mouth of the Vai-te-piha little further along where a small spit projects.

The representation of the Cook commemorative medal at p. 370 shows it one-and-a-half times the diameter of the originals. I take this opportunity to draw attention to a correction with regard to specimens of this medal, of which one, in silver, *does* exist (in the Fleming collection) at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington[2].

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[1] Add. MSS. 37,528.

[2] *Cf.* p. 371, foot-note.

The maps in the volume, including two in the pocket, speak for themselves. The one of El Callao and the vicinity is from the original pen and wash drawing in Indian ink, carmine, and emerald green, lodged in the British Museum[1].

The longitude, wherever quoted in these volumes, is reckoned from the meridian of Tenerife, as was usual in the Spanish navy at the period. For remarks on this subject the reader may consult Volume I, p. lxiii.

He is reminded that the sign "¼" in Spanish compass courses and bearings is equivalent to the English "by"—not ¼—as explained in the INTRODUCTION (vol. I, p. lxiv).

The *legua marina* (sea league) is officially quoted as equal to 6646 *varas* or 3 miles: the *vara* measuring ·835905 of a metre. The *milla* or nautical mile is 1108 *brazas* or Spanish fathoms: the *cable*, 120 *brazas*[2].

The bibliographic reference numbers relate to the list of authors and titles following the INTRODUCTION in vol. I, and its continuation next hereafter.

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[1] Add. MSS. 17671 (k).

[2] *Dicc. Enciclop. Hispano-Americano*: 1894. Art. *Pesas y Medidas.*

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[1] This work by Del Rio is very scarce. Sir Woodbine Parish, in a note in his handwriting on the fly-leaf of Add. MSS. 19572, stated that it was suppressed by the Government when only a few copies had got into circulation. It contains the effusion numbered 107 *ter* in this list. There is a copy in the British Museum, but I could not hear of one in the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid, and the librarian of the King's private library there informed me that he knew of none.

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[PP. 4095.]

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DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies[1]].

No. 1068.

Most Excellent Señor,

Covering a copy of a dictionary of words in common use in the language of the natives of Otaheti: and another containing a comprehensive catalogue of Questions on the several points the officers and missionaries who went there, at the time mentioned in the despatch referred to, were to study and assure themselves about.

In my despatch no. 1016, dated the 22nd of September, 1774, I gave an account of the expedition I had promoted, comprising two ships bound for the newly discovered Islands in the South Sea.

I accompanied my despatch by an invoice and other documents relating to goods consigned with the expedition for distribution among the Islanders, by way of presentations and gratuities.

I omitted, however, to acquaint Your Excellency with the light which has been thrown on their language by intercourse and conversation held with the two volunteers who were brought here from the Islands, and whom I ordered to be restored to their native soil by the present opportunity to the end that they might become useful in the ways foreshadowed in the despatch above cited.

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[1] This despatch, with its enclosures, is here given a place in priority to no. 1016, because the latter relates only to preparations for the second expedition; whereas no. 1068, although of later date than the other, deals exclusively with matters resulting out of the first expedition. Two copies of each occur at the *Archivo*: see note at p. 5.

Believing that the particulars gained, besides being new and curious in* themselves, may conduce towards the realisation of some of the exalted designs His Majesty has before him, it has seemed to me desirable to include hereunder the accompanying list. From the politician's point of view they may serve, when the dialect has been examined by experts and compared with vocabularies already printed and still being published by foreign authors who made similar voyages round the world, to establish the identity of the places visited, or to distinguish the racial affinities of their inhabitants.

I further enclose a copy of the Schedule of Questions supplied to the officers and missionaries, that they might assure themselves with clearness and accuracy on each one of the points these questions embrace. [This I did] in the hope of thereby avoiding the confusion such accounts are commonly liable to through lack of any proper conception as to what is needed, and of moment to be known before committing one's-self to projects of this importance.

I trust that both these [studies] may meet with His Majesty's approval, and afford proof of the care with which I am applying myself in his service without losing sight of any of its minutiae that occur to me.

May our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years. Lima: 9th January, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful, and faithful Servant kisses Your Excy's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excᵗ Sᵒʳ Bᵒ Fr. Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga.

[*Enclosures.*

I. Vocabulary of the dialect of Otaheti, &c.

II. Schedule of Questions.]

Enclosure I.

A DICTIONARY

of some verbs and nouns in common use among the Inhabitants of the Islands of Otaheti, and others newly discovered, which have been obtained through converse with the three Islanders brought from thence, after they had learned the Spanish language during all the year 1774, while they were staying in the

CITY OF THE KINGS[1], CAPITAL OF PERU,

for the furtherance of whose aims they were repatriated[2].

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[1] Although Lima is by some said to have been named the "City of the Kings" in honour of the Magi, because it was founded, or its site was determined, on the feast of the Epiphany (1535), the concluding words of this heading point unmistakably to the King and Queen of Spain as *los Reyes* "for the furtherance of whose aims" the Tahitian boys were repatriated.

[2] This vocabulary, containing approximately 1225 words and expressions, is full of interest for the philologist who has a competent knowledge of the rules of Spanish orthography, the deviations from those rules common in writings of the XVIIIth century, and the Tahitian dialect of the great Maori or Polynesian language. A few archaisms occur amongst them, however, which only a student of old Tahitian will recognise. There are expressions, in several instances, which may be more properly described as 'beside the mark' than as positively incorrect, such as *aroha*, which really means sentiment or pity for the troubled or afflicted; there are others, especially of an abstract sense, from which one may divine by the natives' answers the ambiguities of some of the questions put by their Spanish interrogators. And there are just a few which defy recognition.

Although many of the words, here supplied exactly as spelt in the Spanish originals [Bibl. nos. MSS. 2 and 3], look, at first sight, as cumbersome and unpronounceable as those printed (about the period of Boenechea's explorations) in the narratives of Bougainville, Cook, and Parkinson [Bibl. nos. 19, 29, 84], the Spanish orthography is really much more in unison with the phonology of Tahitian vocables than either the French or the English system was in those days. So that, allowance being made for certain peculiarities of Spanish pronunciation, in regard especially to the consonants *g*, *j*, the syllables *gua*, *guai*, the letter *y* (which is always replaced in modern Tahitian by *i*), and the confusion of utterance between *v* and *b*, and *ll* and *y*, so commonly met with in Spain and South America—allowance being made, I say, for these divergences from the Tahitian orthographic system (which is of course a product of later times)—no great difficulty clouds the recognition of most of the words recorded in this vocabulary.

The grave accent, now obsolete in Spanish, was employed by the compilers of the vocabulary sometimes to denote emphasis, as in *guaòra* (=faa-ora), but in some instances as a mark of quantity, where

a double vowel is etymologically correct, as in *upò* (=*upoo*) and *mùmù* (=*muhumuhu*). Many of the words given as one are really compounded of two, or three, as *guatuputetiare*, for 'to blossom,' which obviously stands for *haatupu* (or *faa-tupu*) *te tiare*—'to make grow the flower.' So also *tatahoroaino* for 'avarice,'=*taata horoa ino*, literally 'a mean giver.'

The Spaniards fell into the error, common to all the early visitors to Tahiti except the Forsters, of tacking on to the noun the auxiliary verb *e*—often miscalled an article—as if this were its initial letter. Thus *namu*, a mosquito, was written down *enamu* by them, and was doubtless the answer given by a native to the enquiry "What do you call that?" The object pointed to being a mosquito the native would naturally reply "*E namu*"—'it is a *namu*.' Some of these matters have been touched upon in the Introduction, vol. I, p. lxviii *q.v.*

The Tahitian alphabet, as devised by the European missionaries who resolved the language into writing, and adopted by their successors, comprises only the following letters,

a e i o u. f h m n p r t v.

There used to be a *b* sound, but it has mostly given way to *p* and *v*. Even now it is often very difficult to feel sure that *v* is not pronounced as *u* or as an English *w*; while, in some words, *f* can scarcely be distinguished from *h*, by European ears. The old name of Tautira was as often written *Fatutira* by the Spaniards as with an initial aspirate—in Spanish, *J*; and this circumstance was *not always* due to confusion between those letters in copying, which might easily occur.

Many examples of rendering one part of speech by another occur in this vocabulary, as is apt to be the case in any essay in Polynesian speech. The Spaniards do not seem to have apprehended the quality of such peculiarities as the causative prefix *faa* or *haa*, the very useful suffix *raa*, or the idiomatic employment of the noun *mea*. But as they have left no comment on their vocabulary, nor on the structure of the language, and had really very little time in which to study it, we must not be over critical; nor ought we, perhaps, to expect to find naval officers of the period posing as experts in grammar analysis.

The authorship of the vocabulary is not stated in the journals; but it is clear that the aptest of the party in colloquial Tahitian was Máximo Rodríguez, the young private of marines whom the Viceroy designated as "Soldier-interpreter" with the expedition of 1774–5. This youth had been to Easter Island in 1770, while serving in the *San Lorenzo*, and was in the *Aguila* during all her visits to Tahiti. He tells us in a petition covering a copy of his diary which was transmitted to the King (in 1788) that he had prepared a Hispano-Tahitian vocabulary, but that it had got lost: it would seem, however, that he executed that useful piece of work during the time he was residing in the island with the friars, between the frigate's second and third voyages, whereas the vocabulary here printed was submitted to the Viceroy after the first voyage, at some time before she sailed on the second. The only other member of either expedition who is anywhere named as having prepared a Tahitian vocabulary is sub-lieutenant Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, whose biographer states [Bibl. no. 42 *ter*] that he applied himself to the study of the native language with such effect that he succeeded in preparing a small vocabulary of it, in writing. See also vol. I, Introduction, pp. lvii and lviii. This officer joined the *Aguila* only on her second voyage, however, in 1774;

A.

Above	Iniajo
to absent one's-self	teiteara
— accompany	e fajoa
— be in accord with	arapoina
— accuse	efaai
achira or yam	etaro
to add	erurù
— adorn or beautify	memaitai
afar off	jenuaroa
afflicted or troubled	earoja
to be afraid through shame	jamà
afternoon	guatapetera
again	faàguaàgua
aged	rugirugia
—, very	turutoto
air or mien	epoà
— or wind	matay
aliment or subsistence	maà
all	maaitai
alms	matamao
aloft	i nia
to amend	memaitay
anchor	tutau
angle or corner (*esquina*)	etara
— — (*rincón*)	epejo
angry	eriri
to anoint	parai
annoyed [*see* 'vexed']	
another time [*see* 'again']	
to answer (*responder*)	tuoro
ant	erò
apophthegm	emay
to appease	guafate
— approach or join	tapiri
arm of the body	erima
—, fire-	e pupuji
to arrest [take prisoner]	rurugia

and is barely mentioned in his commander's journal, and then not in connection with any vocabulary or study of the native language or institutions. In view of these facts, and of the Viceroy's original instructions to Boenechea and to the *padres* Amich and Bonamo, it appears probable that this vocabulary represents the work of the officers, *padres*, and men of the frigate generally, but especially of Máximo Rodríguez, and Don Juan de Hervé, the Master; and that it was compiled partly while at Tahiti in 1772, partly during the return voyage to El Callao, with the help of the four natives conveyed on board, and partly during the sojourn of the two surviving ones *Pautu* and *Tetuanui* in the Viceregal palace at Lima in 1773–4.

Of the vocabulary itself, together with the despatch no. 1068 under which it forms one of the enclosures, two copies exist in the *Archivo General de Indias*. The penmanship is clear in both copies, though they are not written by the same hand. There are very few discrepancies between them: those that occur are merely such as might be expected in the writing of two scribes who had been schooled or brought up in different provinces of Spain or South America, and they even serve a useful purpose in verifying each other. The duplicates have been twice laboriously collated, and the printed proofs have been checked by the transcript made by myself in the *Archivo* from the documents themselves. These latter are contained in *Est.* 112—*Caj.* 4—*Leg.* 11 and *Est.* 110—*Caj.* 3—*Leg.* 16 respectively.

In the originals the Spanish words stand arranged in alphabetical order. Their sequence was necessarily disturbed during the translation, and has been re-determined in accordance with their English equivalents, for convenience of reference.

arrogant, to wax tatatoa
ashamed, to be jamà
asleep, to fall eturugemoe
to ask for eani
— attach erurù
aunt metuagine
avarice [covetousness] tatajoroaino
await etiai
to awaken guara
away, to go or keep teiteara
axe or hatchet e ivi

B.

the back etua
— — of the head [*see* 'head']
backbone tuamo
backwards imuri
badness aijuna
bag ['*see* wallet']
bald-headed e upopajure
ballast of ships tutau
bamboo eoje
bare, denuded guabaugia
bark, of trees e iri
to bark, as a dog aòa
— barter ejò
— bathe e aù
— do battle or fight e tamay
— bear in mind arapoina
beard e umiumi
to beat a path or track eanui
a beau (*galan*) maitayè
beautiful maitaye
because iyajautù
bed e roy
before titiaro
befuddled [with *ava*] etaeoo
to beg or ask for e ani
— beget etatue
— begin (*principiar*) matamua
— — (*empezar*) oyoy
— begrudge (*embidiar*) jopoy
behind e imuri
to believe mamarò
belly (*panza*) opù
— (*vientre*) opù
below (*abajo*) iraro
beneath (*debajo*) iraro
bent [twisted] tuapù
be off! (*afuera!*) e jaere
— (*anda vete!*) e jare
to besmoke e aguagi
— besmut parai
besotted [*see* 'befuddled' *and* 'inebriated']
betimes poipoi
betrayer taparaijuna
a beverage there is e aba
bid, to make a fanoma
bigness [size] mearagi
bilboes etete
bird emanumanu
birds, to catch e tiamanu
birth, one who has lately given titoji
a bite ajugia
to bite aati
bitter because not ripe abaaba
black colour erere
the bladder opupu
to blandish or fondle taguaji
— blaze up with fire etoretore
— bleach [whiten] jateatea
blind, to become matapo
a blister e tuavera
blood e toto
to blossom guatuputetiare
blows, to deal epaipai, pauru
blue-eyed purepure
a boar e oni
a board e raau
to boast eoò
the body eyra
bold (*atrevido*) etoa
bone eivi
to bore or drill ejui
— — or worry e veuveu
a borer [insect] e juju
to be born guajapu
a bow for arrows efana
boy à yù
brains [meaning common sense] erori
branch of a tree peapea
brave (*valeroso*) tatatoa

breadth or broad [*see* 'wide']
to break guajati
— — asunder motumotu
— — to pieces ['*see* shatter']
the breast oma
to breathe otuitui
— — hard through exertion ejopipì
— — with defiance etòa
the breech e toje
brightness of features anaana
to bring ejopoimai
— — about or induce a thing faguagua
— — out or forward (*sacar*) epoyatu
bristles of swine e jurujuru
broad [*see* 'wide']
brother tuana
bruise guaùri
buffoon faata
to burn or set on fire (*abrasar ò incendiar*) uavera
— — [glow] with fire (*arder con fuego*) etoretore
— — one's-self (*quemarse*) guavera
— bury etanu
the bustle of people guapiri
busy ejàa
butterfly epepe
the buttocks jujà
to buy ejò

C.

to cackle or cluck eoò
— call another etao
callosity on the hand opupu
calm [*see* 'lull']
canoe e và
capon or gelding guateje
captain tojoa
carbuncle or abscess etojeroa
to careen ejajau
carpenter e tajua
to carry jopoy
— — off [steal] ejarunoa
— cast or fling efarue
— catch erabe
carved figure eti
cave eana
to challenge or defy matoa
— change jopoi
channel etajora
charcoal, glowing matamijo
to chase tapapa
— chastise, or suffer moemoe
— chatter eparau
chatterbox, an idle guaraujapari
cheap eutua maitay
to cheat or deceive fatianiani
the cheeks paparia
— — blown out guapaju
cheerful òaoa
to chew e aguau
chicken fanagua
to chide motoa
chill, to catch a toetoe
chin eaguae
a chip of wood eapaapa
circuit poroa
clamour, turmoil ejàruru
clatter, hubbub eague
clay, soft earth paruparu
to clean ejoroy
to clear the nostrils fatè
— — — way, or facilitate papù
— — up maramaràma
— climb or clamber maitige ainea
cliff or large rock ofairagi
to close [*see* 'shut']
cloth or clothing eaju
cloud eata
cloudy, overcast poiri
cock emoa
coconut e jaari
coconut-oil monoy
coitus e tatue

to comb pagerè
— come aremay
— comfort or console efana
— command aremeimei
— compel eja agua agua
— complain or lament evajapari
— complete or conclude ua pau
— compress erurù
— conceal the truth e jutiutiupo
conch epú
to console [*see* 'comfort']
— construct eatò
— consume or expend guaravejo
contained, to be able to be vàò
contented òaoa
to contest tatatajoa
cool e toetoe
to cool down jamariri
— — one's-self etoetoe
— — water jamariri
— — fish caught jamariri
corner (*rincón*) epejo
corpulent guaporia
couch eroy
to cough emare
— count etatau
courageous tatatoa
cousin taeae
—, female taeae evagine
to be covered with confusion jopuepue
cowardly mamaju
crab papà
to crack or split erarerare
to crawl or creep e aratò
crippled e rimapio
crooked [bent] tuapù
to cross guaputapù
cruel tatatoa
to crumble e juajua
— crumple or wrinkle emiomio
crying of an infant oaninia
cuddy of a canoe e farebay
cup, of coconut-shell, to drink from agùa
to cure, or minister to eparai
curly erourupipi
current [stream] evaitafe
cut tipi

D.

dainty with food memaitay
to dance (*bailar*) e ori
— — (*danzar*) e ori
dandriff [*see* 'scurf']
to dare or venture motoa
dark, darkness [*see* 'obscure']
— in hue tataereere
daughter temagine
—, elder temagine arage
—, younger temagine iti
— -in-law ejunoa
day naunei
— before yesterday nanagei etura
daybreak tatagiata
to dawn tatagiyeta
deaf eturi
to deal a blow pauru
debt or fault e utua
deceitful or false eavare
to deceive or cheat fatianiani
— deck or adorn one's-self memaitai
declivity earapiri
to decorate or fig out memaitai
— deface meaino
— defy [*see* 'challenge']
— delay or loiter jareetaeta
— demolish guaparari
demon topapau
denuded, bare guabaugia
to deny favarevare
— deprive of a thing tapipi
depth bagijagea
to desire etù
— descend e tu iraro
— destroy óoti
— detach etatara
— devastate or demolish e jòro

dew e jau
to die emate
— dig etùnu
dirty guarepoa
—, to get e repoa
—, to make the water guarepoa
to disarm ejauru
disciple e pipi
to discover a thief ejai
— disembarrass baare
— disfigure mea ino
dish jinai
disloyal or unfaithful ejuna
to dismiss from the house e tuaro
— dispute [*see* 'contest']
— dissimulate or conceal truth e jutiutiupo
dissolute or licentious arioy
to disturb or annoy tatatoa
— dive ejopu
— divine or guess tutupiri
their Divinity Teatua
to do or make jorajora
dog e ùri
done, finished gu òti
doorway of a house iriaputa
to double or fold cloth tifatu
— doubt maro
down, lower iraro
downcast or sad taia
to drain off guatagetage
— drink einù
drinking-cup [*see* 'cup']
drizzle euamaguigui
drop of water patoto
to drown eparemo
drowsiness turuje
drowsy alamoemoe
to dry clothing in the sunshine taguai
— dry or wipe off tauray
duck or goose morà
dug, of a sow eù
dull or stupid tataino
dumb or silent eturi
dung of swine tutaepira
dust erepo
—, to shake off jeujeu
dwarf e jaa
dwelling-house, the family efàre

E.

early poipoi
ears etaria
easy eotivave
eatables [*see* 'food']
eater, a large arapuanui
edge of a knife oè oè
eel e tuna
to efface e joroy
egg juero
eggs ejuero
—, addled guapè
— — [*bis*] ouopè
— with chick efanagua
—, white of ejaari
—, yolk of erearea
the elbow pororima
to elbow òtui
embers, glowing toretore
to embrace ejapuni
anything empty or hollow enini
enamoured janijani
end guapau
enjoying one's-self or happy òaoa
to enquire eujui
— enrich or ornament tomaitifatu
— ensnare or entangle efififi
— enter areiroto
entire, of animals euarajai
entrust or lend eutua
to entwine with flowers etapì
error, to be in arapoina
to eructate or belch euja
— escape guaorai

to essay — e tapi
— evacuate the bowels — titio
an evil speaker — temaitino
excess, to be in — guatoe
to exchange — ejò
excrement — tutae
to exhale or take breath — e auta
— expend [*see* 'consume'] —
an expert or master — tajua
to extend — jorajora
— extinguish fire — etinai
eyelashes — tuemata
eyelids — e tuemata
eye teeth — enijoraji

F.

faithless [*see* 'disloyal'] —
to fall — guatopa
— nearly fall [*cf.* 'stumble'] — tiùa
family or household — taetaeae
— inheritance — e feijo na tatamaiti
fare [victuals] — maà
to fasten — erurù
fat, to grow — eporia
father — metua
— -in-law — metua guoguai
fault or debt — eutua
fear — matau
to fear — matau
feast — taurua
feather — jurujuru
feeble or lean, thin of body — tutoivi
to feel — guirere
— feign — fahua
female — euja
fence or enclosure, of stone — epatu
to fence, with foil and lance — etamay
fig-bearing tree, a large — ora
to fight — emoto, etamay
figure [*see* 'carved figure'] —
film of the eye — ematajiti
fin of a fish — pere jau
to find anything lost — guaitea
— — out — amaolero
fine [thin or delicate] — tutoibi
finger — erimaroa
finished or done — gu òti
fire, to burn with — etoretore
—, — put out [extinguish] — etinai
—, — set on — u avera
— -arms — e pupugi
— -brand — guavera
—, fuel for a — eùmu
— -wood — evagie
firm — mea etaeta
first, foremost — mua
fish — eia
— -hook — matau
— —, twisted — abiti
fishing tackle — taura
fist, a blow with the — emoto
—, the closed — jamenemene
a fit, or vertigo — oijoa
flag — erevareva
flame — guaura
flash of lightning — eguirà
flat land — bagijarea
flatus *p. a.* — ejuu
to flee — arejuna
— — in warfare — emataù
flesh — e iò
to fling — farùe
— flog — taparagi
— flounder in the mud — evari
flower — tiare
flute — evivo
a fly — erao
to fly — majuta
— fold — tifatu
— — clothing — tifatu
— follow — murijo
fond of anyone, to be — tayomaitay
food — maà
—, a pile of — puhuiai
foot — tapuay
—, or pat of a bird or small animal — tapuay

to force taputò
forehead erae
forest or jungle aygere
to forget arapoina
— fornicate etatae
forward i mua
to free from baare
friend tayo
—, an ill tayo ino
to frighten efaitirere
fuddled e aniniva
fuel for a fire eùmu
full guai
— moon guati
funny efaata
furious tàtatoà

G.

to gabble eparau
— gasp or yawn jamama
gecko e mò
gelding guateja
generous or liberal tatajoroa
to germinate guatupuhaho
gesture etuou
get away! be off! ejare
gifts, to offer tamanagine [?]
girl temagine
—, pubescent evaginejou
to give ejoroi
glutton arapoanui
goose or duck morà
gorge or ravine efaà
gossip, an idle, or charlatan guaraujapari
gourd ehue
to grab or grasp or seize e rabe
granddaughter mapuna evagine
— father mopuna tane
— mother mopuna evagine
— son mapuna
to grasp emoto
grass or herbs aiehere
gravel eara
great mearaji
— granddaughter tupuna evagine
— grandfather rugiatane
— grandmother rugiabagine
— grandson tupunatane
greedy in eating arapoanui
green erere
grey [*see* 'hair']
gristle erourou
to groan eauta
the groin etapa
— ground or earth papa
grove of trees, or bosque aygere
to grow etupu
— — old tapari
— grumble at or scold tatarìriri
— grunt, like a pig huà
— guess or divine tutupiri
guest ejè
to guide, or a guide efaaite
gum or resin tapau
guts aaù

H.

hair e rouru
—, grey eginagina
— of the head e rouru
half or middle guamoto
halter for casting them into the water tutau
hand erima
—, left agui
— —, on the augui
—, right etau
— —, on the atau
to handle or poke about fafà
handsome maitaye
to hang up efairi
— harass haumani
hard etaeta
harlot arioy
in haste erara
hatred e eite
to have [*see* 'possess']
— hawk up phlegm efaaori
haze ejupe
head e upò
head, a big e uporagi
—, back of the e aì

head, a cold in the — -ache eguipiri tajoa
head-rest or pillow tuarua
headstrong or obstinate tatamarò
to heal guaòra
a heap of things e vairatagua
to heap up things e japupu
— hear efanò
heart mafatu
to help ejopoimay
hen moa
— -house bairamoa
henchman teuteu
hiccough etui
to hide, or be in hiding epupuni
high e roa
hill mohua
hither jomai
hoarse, to grow efao
hog or pig pua
to hoist or sway up ejopoinia
hole [perforation] e rua
holes, to eat, as a moth ejujù
hollow, anything empty or mamarò
— or depression iroto
to hollow or bore out ejui
hot mahanahana
hubbub or noise eague
to hum or buzz ejio
humble fatupua
humid erarirari
hunger porori
husband (*esposo*) etarabagine
— (*marido*) etaue

I.

idle amaura
an idler or loiterer matamau
ill [in health] emay
—, to feel or be e mai
to illumine with light tiarama
— imitate hapitopito
impatient tatatiaimano
impostor eavare
to incline the head taturi
indigence or poverty otare
to induce, or effect anything faguagua
inebriated etaeoo
inflamed guapaju
to inform or carry tales o mùmù
— injure pajo regure
innocence or without malice manaju
to inquire eujui
insane, to become neneva
to intone efaatai
— invite or persuade maay
island efenua
the itch junejune
an itching emaero

J.

jackdaw erue rue
jaw evaja
to join company with e jui, e apò
— jump erere

K.

to keep a thing eveijio
— kick (*cocear*) etaagi
— — or stamp the foot (*patear*) etaagei
— kill taparafi
kills, one who tataparageimarò
to kindle fire etutui
king's evil (*lamparones*) farabati
a kiss emiti
to kiss ejoi
kite, boy's paoma
to knead enatu
knee eturi
—, the space behind the arapoaavae
to kneel tutaturi
— knock against tuia
knot e pona
to know efaite

L.

to lack or be lacking	toetura
lad	tatajò
ladder	etea
lake (*lago*)	eroto
to lament [*see* 'complain']	
large	mea ragi
— -headed	euporagi
larger than another	tataragi
lass (*moza en edad*)	evaginejou
last [final]	guapaù
to last [endure]	meavi
— laugh	eata
laughter	òaòa
—, a peal of	e ovaova
to lay hold of	e rabe
laziness	eriaria
leaf of a tree	eraù
to leave that alone, let be	evagiogio
to the left	augui
legs, as far as the[1]	papaau
to lend [*see* 'entrust']	
leper	ejè ejè[2]
level tract, a flat	baijarea
licentious [dissolute]	arioy
to lick	emiti
— lie [speak untruth]	eavare
— — down	mohe
— lift off the ground	guatopa
light [brightness]	maramarama
— of foot	tatavaovao
to like [food]	ejiaai
limp, or without firmness	òruòru
to limp	pirioi
to listen	ejarò
little or minute	vajeaaiti
a very little	mea iti
to live	e ora
load	e japou
loathing or boredom	e veuveu
lobster	oùra
a longing [for food]	ejiaai
to look at	guaite
— loosen or cast off	tatarà
— lose the way	guaaro
louse	eutu
lover	ejanijani
low	eoni
— -spirited	taia
— —, to be	tipu
lukewarm	jamariri
a lull in the wind	emania
to take luncheon	eparujare
a lunge or stab	epirijau
a lurking or hiding place	epupuni
lustful	tata ebagine araji

M.

mad	neneva
maggot	eiro
maid (*doncella*)	putapiri
maiden	evaginejou
maimed	ooti
to make fast	erurù
— — off with	guariri
male of any species	eoni
maledictory	temaitino
malicious	efa agua agua
a man (*hombre*)	tata
— — (*varon*)	eoni
many in number	guaarau
— times	maatai
a master [expert]	tajua
— — or lord	e joa
matter or pus	epirau
me or my	nou
medical attendant	erapoaimay
meek [*see* 'humble']	
to meet	faaite
melancholy	etaya

[1] In reference, apparently, to depth of water—wadable.

[2] This word (*fe'efe'e*) points to elephantiasis (Arabum), not leprosy.

membrum virile eure
to menace [*see* 'threaten']
— mend memaitay
menses, of women evari
merry or laughing e ata
mess, to make one's-self in a erepoa
message topayatu
a meteor epào
middle or half guamoto
midwife erabemai
mien of a man porori
milk eù
to mimic japitopito
a minor tataeti
minute or little vajeaaiti
to miscarry at birth u-aino
mistake arapoina
to moan [*see* 'groan']
— mock or jeer tajitojito
modesty amaura
molar [*see* 'tooth']
mole, on the skin eyra
month marama
moon, full guati
—, new teiniata marama
—, waning guamate
to moor, lash, or tie up erurù
more ejopoimaya
morning star tetia tuguau
mosquito enamu
mother metuagine
— -in-law metuaguoguai
to mount up eaè
mountain mohua
mouse or rat iore
mouth ebaja
a mouthful or bite emama
to move away from a place eeù
mucus jupè
mud evari
murky or thick pouri
music with song ejeiba
mussel e uù

N.

a nail euri
to nail patia
the nails maiù
name of anyone guaiguanoa
nape of the neck erei
navel ejoito[1]
near fatata
neck e aì
—, nape of [*see* 'nape']
—, up to the[2] evaimoana
negligence arapoaina
neighbourhood efaretapiri
nephew temaitù
nerves euguagua
nests, of birds erua
new mejou
niece temajine
night uopò
— -fall eagiagi
the nipple ematau
no, not aima
nobody aima
of noble birth tamaitifatu
noise maniania
none, not any aima
nostrils ejui
—, to clear the eproy [?]
not, I will eima epà
— to be able eima etàe
— want, I do eima epà
nothing aima
numb, to become, of the hand[3] jopipi
nut [or walnut] tutuì[4]

O.

oar ejoe
to obey ejauti
— oblige eja agua agua
obscure, obscurity poire
obstinate tatamarò

[1] Doubtless intended for 'e pito.'
[2] In reference to depth of water.
[3] *entorpecer la mano*—to "go to sleep."
[4] The candle-nut.

to obstruct tapipi
— obtain anything guajare
offence, to give guajarua
often [*see* 'many times']
old rugirujia
old age erujirugia
—, to grow [*see* 'to grow old']
an old gaffer turutoto
— — man (*anciano*) jaramiri
— — woman (*vieja*) jaramiri
on, on top of iniajo
once atajiora
one day atagiguao
one-eyed matapò
to open e jejeu
open-handed [generous] tata jòro maitay
an opening eafa
to order aremeimei
ordure tutae
orphan otare
to overtake one who flees tapapa
— owe or be indebted eutua

P.

pace or step atagirà
to pacify guafate
pain mamae
—, to suffer moemoe
the palate piriarero
— palm of the hand apurima
to pant [*see* 'to breathe']
— pardon guatia
— pass beyond or across guaputapù
— — that way jarenapejaijo
a patch tapepe
path, to cut or beat a eànui
patience guatia
to pay a debt ujaonoa
— — or stick with balsam guapiri
pearl e poe
— -shell parau
periwinkle porejo
to persist tatatajoa
a person of quality ratira
to be perturbed or alarmed rurutaina
physic or a plaster erapuamay
a piece or bit emaajaiti
to pierce or perforate tiputa
pig (*cochino*) epua
— (*puerco*) pua
a piggish person tataveuveu
to pile or heap together ejapupu
a pimp efauguagine
— pimple on the face pupù
— pip ejuero
— pistol efanarua
to place [*see* 'put']
a place where anything is kept evairà
to plait mats erarà
— plane or rasp smooth eiu
a plaster [*see* 'physic']
to play the flute efataai
— — games ejauti
pleasing or laughable (*gracioso*) efaata
a point òeoe
to polish a thing epaia
pond or pool e japahu
to possess (*tener*) teie
a post or stake patia
to practise (*ensayar*) e tapì
a prattler guarau epapari
pregnant ejapù
prepuce e yri eru
present, to make a anything pretty tamanagine [?] maitay
to prick or puncture patiatia
prince Eri
to proceed along e jaere
— prod or hit tupai
proud, to wax [*see* 'arrogant']
provisions [*see* 'food']

to pull out — e iriti
— — to pieces — ejajae
the pulse (*pulso*) — etaeta
a punch with the fist — emoto
to punish — moemoe
puppy — efanagua
a purge or purgative — taroto
to pursue — tapapa
— push — eturay
pus [*see* 'matter']
to put — tuatùyò

Q.

quick, quickly — efainene

R.

rabid [*see* 'raging']
to rack off oil — taviri
raging — eriaria
to rain — eùa
rainbow — eanuanua
to raise up — etù
range of sight — jatagiogio
to rasp or scrape — evauguau
rat — iore
to rattle conversation — eparau
— rave — emainagi
ravine — efaà
to reach up to or catch hold of — erabe
— be reconciled [*see* 'accord']
— recover or regain health — guaora
— — or regain possession — erave
red — mea uraura
reefs — eau *or* etoa
to refresh or cool one's-self — toetoe
to reject — efarue
a relative — tata èaèa
to relish — ejiaai
— remain — etiay
a remedy — erapuamai
to remember or remind — guarà
— repent — earoja
— repose — emoe
— request — e ani
— respond — tuoro
to rest — ejaea
— return — ejoi
reverse, or back — ejuri
rib — epaa
right-hand side — atau
ripe — guapara
to rise — genuaroa [?]
— — early — tataieta
river — tajora
roadway — eanui
to roast meat — tanipa
— rob — guariri
a rock — ofae ragi
a roof or shed — inia
to roof the house — tajuju
roomy — otore
root — eà
rope — taura
a rough or coarse thing — e oru
to row or paddle — eautua
ruddy — eeju
to ruffle the hair — pua xaja
rump — piatoje
to run — erara
— — away in a fight — e mataù

S.

sacrifice — tapira
sad — taia
to sail or navigate — teretere
sails of a vessel — eiè
same thing — tutujaino
sand, black — e oneereere
—, white — e oneteatea
sash — tatua
satiated with food — upaia
to say — tatajaguagua
a scale [of fish] — epoa
scarcity [of crops] — e utuaino
to scold another — motoa
— scour or rub clean — ejoroy
— scrape [*see* 'rasp']
— — or scratch the ground — ejeru
— scratch — raurau
scrotum — erijua
scurf — e iri
sea-beach — tuatagi

sea foam ujauja
a seat e papa
to seat one's-self [*see* 'sit down']
second ejupea
secret omumu
to see guaite
— seek maimi
— sell poyeho
— send jopoi
— — off in a hurry eojoy
— separate from ejopoy
seriousness fatoatoa
servant teuteu
— who has care of children teuteu
shade or shadow marumaru
to shake dust off [*see* 'dust']
shame tama
shameless etupuru
to shatter otioti
— shave evaù
sheath òomo
shellfish eio
shelter, to take e tapoi
shin-bone e iviavae
ship epagi
to shoot an arrow guapè
shoulder etapono
to shout tuoro
shower of rain e ua
shrimp òura
to shut òpane
side (*costado*) apaapa
— (*lado*) apapa
to sigh ejaaea
sight, within jatagiogio
silence mamù
silent, to keep, about a thing mamù
simple (Sp. *simple*) mamàhu
to sing epeje
— singe einaina
single-minded [*see* 'simple']
sister tuagine
to sit down enojo
skin eiri
sky e ray
slack, any thing not tight òru òru
— at work jaumani
to slacken or untie guatujia
a slap pauru
to slay [*see* 'to kill']
a slayer tataparageimarò
sleep moe
to sleep moe
sleepy [*see* 'drowsy']
to slip or slide epaia
a sling [weapon] emaà
— slip knot or lasso ejere
slope, of land bajiteitei
small [*see* 'little']
—, very mea iti
smartly [*see* 'quickly']
to smell noa noa
— smite or smash papagia
— smoke e aguagi
— smooth paia
— smoothen papù
— snore ò oro
snout aguae
to soak or steep guarari
soft efarufaru
soldier matainà
to solicit javarevare
solitude moemoe
some day atagiguau
so much maata
son temaiti
— -in-law ejunoa
sour eabaaba
a sow's dugs [*see* 'dug']
space or distance ejaremaire
spacious otore
spark, of fire epao
to speak or converse euajapari
speaker, an evil [*see* 'evil']
spear mageae
spider's web puaverevere
to spill guatagetage
spine eivi
a spinning-top, of coconut pereo
to spit etuja
spot or stain guarari

to spread out	taurai
a spring of water	epija
to sprinkle	pipi
— sprout [germinate]	guatupujajo
— — by suckers	guatipu
squalor or poverty	otare
to stab	epirijau
stain [*see* 'spot']	
to stand still	e tù
— start [proceed]	jaere
— stay [remain]	etiay
— steal	guariro
a step [pace]	atagirà
— — or rung of a ladder	erùe
step-son	temaitijò
a stick	eraau
stiff, of a limb	erimatiu
stilts, to walk on	tuto
stinking, anything	neoneo
stone	jamù
—, a blow with a	taorà
— fence or enclosure	e patu
stones, to throw, or pelt with	e jamù
stool or bench	e papa
—, to go to	titio
to stop	e tù
storm at sea	tairagi
stout [of body]	guaporia
a stranger	tata è
to strengthen	e faaguagua
— stretch [*see* 'extend']	
— strike against	tuia
— strip [undress]	etatara
stripe [pattern]	eruapoguajo
to stroll	jajaere
— stumble	tuhia
stupid, dull	tatapiatà
stye on the eyelid	mata iritona
successor	erijoau
to succour or protect	fatia
— suck	emiti
— suckle or give suck	faiteù
to suffer	emaiiragi
sugar-cane	etò
summit	mouateitei
sun	majana
surgeon or medical attendant	e tajua
to suspect	guaitea
— sustain or hold up	e turu
swaddling-clothes	pahì
to swallow	punena
— swamp [of a canoe]	e mama
— sway aloft [*see* 'hoist']	
sweat or to sweat	ejoù
sweepings or refuse	vairarepo
sweet	momona
to swell or bulge	guapaju
a swelling or tumour	guapaju
to swim	e au
a swing	etarere
swooning or dizziness	o aninia

T.

tail of an animal (*cola*)	earero[1]
— — a pig (*rabo*)	arero[1]
tailor	tuiè
to take	erabe
— — anything away	guairitigia
— — back, or over again	erave
— — with fish-hook	ejùti
take this!	erabemai
to talk [*see* 'speak']	
a talker	guarau epapari
to tap (*tocar*)	tupaipai
— tarry (*tardarse*)	. . . .[2]
— — (*quedarse*) [*see* 'stay']	
— — (*pararse*) [*see* 'stop']	

[1] *Arero* means 'tongue': 'tail' is *aero*.

[2] Blank in both copies.

tartar of teeth — e para niho
to taste or try — tamata
tears — eroimata
teat [*see* 'dug']
teeth, the whole set of — guapuni
tempest — evero
tenesmus — e tagetage
testis of a boar — ejua
thicket — aygere
thickness — epiri
thief — guariro
thin, to wax (*delgazar*) — eoeoi
— — (*adelgazar*) — e rauràu
to think — egui
third — matamuia
thither — eyyo
thorn — eivi
thread — taura
to threaten — etaparagi
throat — arapoa
to throw any object — eume
— — stones at [*see* 'stones']
— — up or reject — efarue
thumb — erimaragi
thunderbolt — pajotitiri
thus it is — nareira
tickling — maeneene
tiller of the ship — euri
time, space of (*tiempo*) — roaroa
time (*vez*) — arè
to 'tip the wink' — e tuo tuou
tired, to get — e rohirohi
to-day — naunei
tongue — earero
too, or too much — maatay
tooth — e nijo
—, molar — enijoragi
torch — e agi
to touch [*see* 'tap' *and* 'handle']
traitor [*see* 'betrayer']
to transport or transfer from one place to another — jopoitiaio
to tread or trample — etaagi
tree out of which they make their cloth in the said island — òrà
to tremble — e eugueu
truth — guatia
to try, test, or prove (*tentar*) — fafà
— — to advance — erapo mayta
tumour [*see* 'swelling']
turbid, to make the water [*see* 'dirty']
turtle — ejonu
twin — magea
to twist — tabiri
tyrant — tatapiro

U.

ugly — mea ino
ulcer — tarapapa
umbilicus — pito
uncle — metuataane
to uncover — etapoi
— understand — guaite
uneven — meapoto
unfaithful or disloyal — e juna
to unfasten or undo — etatara
an unmarried man — eivi
to unroll — etatara
— untie — tatara
upon — iniajo
urine — emimi
—, to void — emimi
to use or do anything for the first time (*estrenar*) — efaaju

V.

valiant [*see* 'brave']
to vanquish — oruoru
a vapour which falls from the sky at *Otaeti* and is looked upon as an evil omen [*see* 'meteor']

to venture [*see* 'dare']
vexed or worried eriri
vice, to give one's-self up to tata inumarò
victorious in a fight tata fatu
victuals maà
view, in or within jatagiogio
village or people (*pueblo*) putuputu
to visit jaregio
voluptuous [*see* 'lustful']
to vomit eruay

W.

to wage war aroa
— wager erè erè
— wail, or wailing etai
— walk [*see* 'stroll']
a wall of boards parùru
wallet or bag putè
walnut [*see* 'nut']
waning of the moon [*see* 'moon']
want to, I do not [*see* 'I will not']
a warp amaurero
a wart etona[1]
to wash e joroy
— watch, or keep a look-out eara
water evai
weariness paupauteajo
to weep [*see* 'wail']
— weigh, or lift a weight teimaha
wen epù
wet erarirari
to wet epipi
— get wet guaràri
whale torà
what evi
when tuatuaguae
where is? tejea
to whet efaoi
which evi
— of the two guaitaparagia
— way? tejea
whirlwind or eddy (*remolino*) òò
— (*torbellino*) puagiogio
to whistle emapu
white teatea
whiteness teatea
who ayta
whoremonger tatatiay
wickedness [*see* 'badness']
wide eaano
I will not, or won't eima epà
to win a wager guarave
the wind matai
wings, a bird flies with pererau
to wink, or make eyes at etuou
— wish for etù
— wither guamaro
within iroto
woman evagine
wood [timber] eraàu
to work eja
worms for fishing e toè
worried or vexed eriri
worse mea ino
to worship or do reverence to epure
— be worth the price ejiejò
— wound evero
wounded eputa
wrap (or length) of native cloth parhuay
to wrap round, or up tifatu
wretched, necessitous, squalid (*mezquino*) epiro
wretchedness or poverty (*miseria*) otare
wrist fatiarima

Y.

to yawn or gasp jamama

[1] *Tona* also means 'yaws,' and (nowadays) 'syphilis.'

a yelling or howling	aoa	yolk of egg [*see* 'eggs']	
yellow	erearea	a youngster	tata iti
yes	guatia	a youth [*see* 'lad']	
yesterday	y managei		

NUMERALS.

One	Atagi	sixteen	ajuru mafene
two	arua	seventeen	ajuru mafitu
three	atoru	eighteen	ajuru mavaru
four	ajeà	nineteen	ajuru maiba
five	arima	twenty	aruatao
six	afene	twenty-one	ataitao
seven	afitu	twenty-two	aruatao
eight	avaru	twenty-three	atorutao
nine	aiva	twenty-four	ageatao
ten	ajuru	twenty-five	arimatao
eleven	ajuru matagi	twenty-six	afenetao
twelve	ajuru marua	twenty-seven	afitutao
thirteen	ajuru matoru	twenty-eight	avarutao
fourteen	ajuru magea	twenty-nine	aivatao
fifteen	ajuru marima	thirty	ajurutao

Enclosure II.

[SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS.]

Interrogatory of questions committed to the care of the officers lately gone to the Islands of *Otaheti* in the month of September, 1774, to enable them to acquire a knowledge of their condition and affairs, and to submit a report upon them in detail.

1. To learn their origin, through enquiry of the oldest men.

2. Are there more Islands than those named?

3. Into how many Districts is the Island divided, and what are they called?

4. Does the *Arii* Vehiatua rule over the whole of the Isle of Amat, and over Matea[1] and Maitu[2]?

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[1] Makatea. [2] Mehetia.

5. Do the islanders of Aura[1] eat people?

6. What power do the priests hold, especially the *Orae*[2]?

7. Is it true that when they conquer any district they set up a statue or *Eti*[3] in sign of possession?

8. What kind of worship do they render to *teatua*[4], whom they regard as their God?

9. To find out whether the Demon they call *tupapau*[5] reveals himself to them often; and whether, as is alleged, his apparitions are most frequent during the times when the moon is on the wane, and whether he does them any injury.

10. Make sure as to the truth or otherwise of the alleged apparition of the Devil in the form of a shark[6] in the sea; and whether he helps them, as is said, to regain the shore when their canoes founder.

11. Ascertain the probable number of the population, and which sex preponderates.

12. How do the people pass their time; and what are their amusements?

13. Have they any days of festival?

14. What sacrifices do they make to their God *teatua*?

15. Are there fresh water springs[7]?

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[1] *Aura* is clearly so written in the MS. *'Au'ura* (locally *Kaukura*) lies 185 miles N.E. of Tahiti, and is the Palliser Island of Cook. But it seems not unlikely that the question really related to *Anaa*, whose natives had the reputation of sometimes indulging in the propensity mentioned; and that *Aura* is a copyist's error for *Anaa*.

[2] Doubtless means *o tahua rahi*—the arch priest.

[3] Meaning *ti'i* a carved figure.

[4] *Te Atua*—the Deity.

[5] *Tupapau*—a ghost, apparition, departed spirit.

[6] Polynesian mythology teems with shark-gods.

[7] *Puquios*—a South American provincialism of Quechuan origin.

16. What classes of craftsmen are there, besides carpenters?

17. What distinction of dress does the *arii* adopt?

18. How are the so-called 'priests' clothed?

19. Which are the islands holding most commerce with that of Amat?

20. What marriage ceremonies do they use?

21. Does the position of *arii* devolve by heredity?

22. What are the burial ceremonies?

23. Who give children their names, and with what ceremonial?

24. What are the ceremonies attending circumcision? And at what age is this performed?

25. Do the 'priests' hold office by heredity; or does the *arii* appoint them?

26. What laws have they for their Government; and what punishments are meted out to delinquents?

27. What ranks exist among the warrior class?

28. What names do they give the stars—collectively and individually?

29. What articles of diet do they make use of, and of what are they composed?

30. Are they addicted to intoxication; and with what do they intoxicate themselves?

31. Are the lands held in common right, or by individual tenure?

32. How do they extract the oil from coco-nuts?

33. What is their method of warfare?

34. Do they pay tribute to their *arii*; and in what kind?

35. Is there a clan of nobility?

36. Do the people live in villages or in scattered houses?

37. What methods of fishing do they practise?

38. What castes exist among the people?

39. What personal defects have they; and are they prone to commit theft?

40. Is *el galico*[1] known?

41. Do their medicine-men employ herbs; and if so, what ones?

42. Do the children live in subordination to their parents?

43. Do they adopt evil courses at a very early age?

44. Of what do they make their pitch for paying the seams of canoes?

45. How do they hunt?

46. Are there many old men?

47. Are there many lagoons[2]; and do they contain fish?

48. What are the length and breadth of the Island respectively?

49. When the *arii* goes campaigning, who remains in charge at home?

50. When they go to war do they carry any party banner or standard, war-drums, conch-shells or other trumpets?

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[1] By *el galico* is meant syphilis.

[2] *Lagunas*—which may mean either fresh water ponds or tarns, or lagoons within the sea reef.

51. Are there any giants or pigmies, and how tall are they?

52. Do they blindly obey the *arii*; and if any persons fail to, whom does he employ to administer punishment?

53. What ceremonies are observed at the death and interment of the *arii*?

54. What is the mode of installing an *arii* when he first takes office?

55. What dyes are there, and what do they prepare them from?

56. To make certain about the kinds of timber there are, its thickness, height, and solidity; by what rivers it can be easily transported to the coast; and whether there are plenty of spars fit for masts and yards for large vessels.

57. Is there any timber suitable for shipbuilding?

58. What sticks do they make use of for kindling fire with?

59. Is the island very mountainous, or does it contain many tracts of flat land?

60. What rivers bathe the island?

61. Which are the best harbours?

62. Which of our trees and shrubs most resemble those there?

63. Is there much rainfall; and are storms frequent, and at what season?

64. Which are the prevailing winds, and do the natives distinguish them by name?

65. What shell-fish, and what birds are there?

66. What insects?

67. Are there any mineral deposits?

68. What fruits are there?

69. Are there any spice trees?

70. What is the nature of the soil?

71. Does the tide ebb and flow?

72. What are the timbers out of which they make their canoes, and are they plentiful?

73. What flowers, and what aromatic herbs are there in the island?

74. Is there much pasture land, and at what distance from where the *Padres* are stationed; and is it of good quality for breeding stock?

75. Have the stock left by the Frigate multiplied; and to what extent do the natives appreciate them?

76. To ascertain how far the English penetrated into the island: what were the timbers they obtained there: whether they took soundings all round the island: how long they remained there: what was the name of the Indian they took with them: and the same particulars in regard to the French frigates, and the Indian whom they carried away.

77. How many foreign ships have they seen, in all?

78. Learn how many Islanders the English killed, and whether they bore the latter any ill-will for it: and the same as regards the French: and whether either these or those left any relics [of their visits]: what they employed themselves about during the time they were at the Island: whether they took any [astronomical] observations: whether they studied the plants much: and whether they were aware of there being other islands in the near neighbourhood. Enquiry about this is to be made of the brother-in-law of Tomás, named Temaeva, and also of Tivivirau Utay.

79. How did they receive the proposal that the missionary *Padres* should remain?

80. Whether the seeds planted came up?

81. What did they like best of the things given them?

82. Did the Islanders place credence in what their countrymen Tomás and Manuel related to them [about Lima &c.]?

83. Are they docile and inclined to be industrious, or to sloth?

84. Are there many hogs and fowls?

85. What kinds of wild animals are there?

86. Whether they have any musical instrument besides the flute?

87. Find out what the 'priests' pray; and in what posture.

88. Learn whether they make use of any other weapons for fighting with than the lance, sling, and arrow.

89. How do they make their cloth wraps, and from what trees?

90. Of what material do they make the mats?

91. Ascertain whether consanguinity is a bar to marriage.

92. At what times in the day do they take their meals, and how many of them?

93. Are they much given to the vice of women?

94. What kinds of dances have they?

95. Ascertain whether they offer any prayer to *Teatua* when they are ill or see themselves in any danger.

96. Is it certain that they renounce their wives whenever they choose: or that the *arii's* permission is required for so doing?

97. What kinds of produce grow and fructify of their own accord, and which are those that demand cultivation?

98. What kinds of games do they play among themselves[1]?

100. Might it be easy to concentrate them into a town?

MINUTE

[from the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru].

The activity with which Your Excellency is promoting the settlement of a colony in the Otaeytian Islands, and the further despatch of vessels and materials provided as shewn in your communication no. 1016[2], meet with His Majesty's satisfaction; the memorandum transmitted under no. 1068, together with the vocabulary of the language of those natives, has also been received.

May God, &c. San Ildefonso: 27th July, 1775.

JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

To Sor D^{n} Manuel de Amat.

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[1] No. 99 is wanting in both copies.

[2] See p. 1, note, and p. 92.

VOYAGE

TO THE ISLAND OF OTAYTY

PERFORMED BY

Don DOMINGO BONECHEA,

CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY,

COMMANDING THE FRIGATE OF WAR NAMED

LA AGUILA,

BY ORDER OF THE MOST EXCELLENT THE LORD VICEROY OF PERU

Don MANUEL DE AMAT:

26th September 1772.

[The Journal of Ensign Dⁿ Raimundo Bonacorsi[1].]

[1] This is a journal kept by Don Raimundo Bonacorsi, who held the rank of *Alferez de Fragata*—ensign or junior sub-lieutenant—in the *Aguila*. It is translated from the official copy preserved in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* at Madrid [d. 1°, *Parte segunda*]—the only text of which I have knowledge. It bears no signature, but the evidence of its authorship is clear and definite, resting on a passage at p. 43 where a statement occurs in the first person singular which, on a comparison being made with Boenechea's Journal at p. 298 of vol. I, is found to indicate Don Raimundo Bonacorsi. As a literary composition it is crude; being generally abrupt and disjointed in style and in places so faulty in grammar as to merit the stigma of illiteracy. As a piece of penmanship it exhibits many errors and omissions due, apparently, to gross carelessness; but a little special study of the MS. has sufficed to remove doubts and clear up the meaning intended, in almost every instance of defect.

JOURNAL.

WE sailed from the Port of El Callao (as Your Lordship is aware) on the 26th of September of the past year, 1772, at half past two in the afternoon, with a favourable breeze from the south'ard ; so that by nine o'clock at night we had covered ten leagues, the distance prescribed beyond which was to be opened and read in the presence of the assembled officers a packet the Comandante had in his keeping, wherein were contained the Instructions for the voyage we were about to set out upon.

His Lordship the Viceroy's Orders and directions in accordance with the Command he held from His Majesty were read before all the officers of the ship's complement, together with the Master, don Juan Herve, and the Pay-master : and on the morrow the whole of the Instructions.

The chief points they comprised were twain :—the one, to verify the existence of an island in latitude South 72° 28′ 25″[1] and in the longitude (though this is not certain) of 10 hours 7 minutes from the meridian of Paris, which the English say they have named after King George, and the natives who inhabit it call *Otaheite* ; and, in the event of finding the same, to make a minute examination of it:—the other, to explore in even greater detail the Isle of *San Carlos*, with a view to determine the best spot at which to form a small settlement for gaining the favour and good-will of its natives by means of various commodities which

[1] This must be the error of a careless scribe : the position quoted by the Viceroy in the Instructions is lat. 17° 28′ 55″, and is correct, to a matter of seconds, for Matavai (Point Venus). *Cf.* vol. I, p. 264, Art. 3 and footnote.

were accordingly shipped for the purpose of making presents to them, and above all for inducing them to open up a trade with Spaniards and to embrace the Catholic religion. With this object we had two *padres* on board, familiar with the several dialects of the Indians of Peru and other tribes, whose opinions were to be consulted throughout the Commission in matters relating to this uncivilised island, and, no less, in making every endeavour to get three or four of the Indians to join us. In this our attention was called to the example of the English and other nations who had followed this plan at other little islands, with the good fortune of having even secured one who seemed to be eminent among all his countrymen, and whom they described as one of their priests[1].

The Instructions left it to the judgment of the Council to decide which mission they should proceed with first; and also whether they should pass on from one to the other consecutively, or put in at Valparaiso after the first, in order to replenish their provisions, and then start afresh to execute the other. We were enjoined to use the greatest care in everything and, if possible, not to expose even a rope-yarn of the Frigate to any risk.

It was determined by an unanimous vote to go first to the isle of *Otaheite*, for many reasons which pointed to that alternative, and we thereupon put the ship on her course thither, steering W.S.W. in order to run down the longitude as quickly as possible and augment our latitude a trifle at the same time. The winds favoured us, for they blew with moderate force from 20 and some from 10. Fine days were not wanting; there were others when a head swell caused us to pitch a great deal, but of complete calm or contrary wind we had none until

[1] This points to Tupaia, the erudite Tahitian *tahua* who embarked with Capt. Cook in H.M.S. *Endeavour*, and most unfortunately died at Batavia.

we reached the latitude of 17° 30′ and long. 256° from the meridian of Tenerife, when we began to experience showers, thunder-storms and lightning, with variable winds though always light ones.

In this locality we also met with some mishaps caused rather through the wear and tear of years than by any accidents of the sea; for, on the 29th of September, with a moderate breeze, the mizen-topmast gave a crack and was seen to be sprung.

On the 26th of October, too, the main-topsail yard was found to be full of dry-rot in the quarters, and sprung at the slings.

The first was made good by a lashing of strong hoop-iron, put on spiral-fashion, and well fished; the second was secured by fishing the spar, with a good woolding over all.

On the 4th of October, also, it was noticed that one limb of the starboard knee supporting the trestle-trees of the main-mast was started, so that it gaped a matter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 fingers' breadths outwards; and that owing to the strain thus thrown on the mast-cheek, the latter was split from top to bottom; while, at the same time, the main-stay was found to have worked somewhat loose. All this was set to rights with lashings and stoppers.

We had been seeing some sea-fowl as we went along ever since we started, and these became more numerous and diverse in kind the farther we ran down our longitude; so that we observed the greatest care in our navigation by day, and especially by night.

Isle of *San Simón y Judas* (Tauere).

But all our watchfulness did not prevent us from discovering, at daybreak on the 28th of October, and already *astern* of us, a very flat palm-covered islet, which we must perforce have passed very close to in the course of the night. We made every endeavour to come up with it, but did not succeed until the third day; when,

having seen it to be inhabited, because of some big smokes they made, we got the boat into the water and she went away to reconnoitre the island with Lieut. Don Thomas Gayangos (and thenceforward every time the boat made a trip we went in her by turns) and her crew with their arms and other usual precautions. They examined the greater part of it, but found no spot where they could land, as the island is fringed all round with a reef of rocks on which the sea breaks heavily, making it impossible to get close in without involving great risk to the boat and crew. As only a small portion remained for examination towards the N.E., where there was most swell, and which could be very well seen from the Frigate herself, the Comandante ordered the boat to be recalled. She took soundings several times in various places, but always found very deep water right up to the shore, which was of coarse rocks.

From 26 to 20 Indians followed along the beach abreast of our boat, as well as on the reef and even in the water: it was observed that they were all pretty brown in colour, and there were two or three among them of more than ordinary stature. All were naked except for a whitey-grey breech-clout with which they had their parts covered. Their hair was bristly and cut short at the neck, and in their hands they carried a long white club with a knob at one end; while, besides this long one, some of them held in the other hand another shorter one, about a *vara* in length, of some dark coloured or black wood. They set up a great yelling and made various signs by which we understood quite well that they meant defiance, and that they had no fear (though we could not be sure of this). They had neither women nor old men among them.

The entire island consists of a strip of low-lying land surrounding a lagoon within it which covers more surface than the whole of the land does; and on this we saw

two canoes, one of them with two Indians and the other with six. The land is clothed all over with greenery, mostly scrub, and in parts there are some trees with medium-sized trunks and spreading branches. Coco-nut palms are the most numerous, and one may suppose that they get their breech-clouts from these, as well as the chief part of their sustenance; supplemented only by fish, of which there should be good store in the lagoon. The land is so low and flat that, when a short distance off, only the palms are to be seen, and these look as if growing out of the sea. By their antics, yells, and wonderment, one may believe that they have never seen any ship before.

No harbour was made out at any part of the island. It is situated, according to our observations and reckoning, in lat. 17° 20′ S. and long. 240° 28′ from the meridian of Tenerife[1]. Our compass showed 8° 21′ of Variation N.E^{ly}. It extends approximately three miles N. and S. and four E. and W.: in circumference ten miles. It is 1145 leagues distant from the Port of El Callao. The name of *San Simón y Judas* was given to it. Its examination being completed and a plan drawn of it as well as could be done from bearings, we delayed no longer, since this was not the island contemplated in our commission; and we pursued our course with the wind aft, moderate, from the E. and E.S.E.

Isle of *San Quintín* (Haraiki).

On the morning of the 31st of the same month of October we discovered another island, which, from a distance, appeared like only a palm clump of the same kind as the former one; and, as the wind was fresh and fair, it gave us an opportunity of coasting almost all round

[1] In the MS. the long. is given as 24° 28′: this is obviously a clerical slip. Boenechea's journal quotes it 240° 28′, which is 5° 19′ in actual error. The island was *Tauere*, renamed "Resolution Isd." by Cook nearly ten months later.

it in the Frigate, under short canvas and at a very little distance off, to reconnoitre for an anchorage while taking bearings as its extremities and outline came into view. It is low-lying land like the other; and covered all over with brushwood, small trees and palms. It has a large lagoon within, occupying its centre, oval in outline like its circumference: we saw a canoe upon it towards the N.W. side. The natives made big smokes, and about 12 or 14 Indians were seen, apparently of the same type as those of the other isle of *San Simón*, with their long pikes in their hands, breech-clouts, and one amongst them who looked like a woman leading a small child by the hand. They made signs to us as if desirous that we should land, which we did not attempt to do, because it was clearly impossible, owing to the beach being everywhere beset with reefs and rocks on which there was a heavy breaking sea, and over which the water enters and leaves the lagoon—from which I conclude there is no channel into it. There are but few inhabitants in all the island. Those we saw appeared to be peaceably disposed, for of the small number who followed along the beach after the Frigate all were not armed with spears or long pikes; and their having women and children with them, and making signs for us to go in to where they were, makes one think this.

It is situated, according to us, in lat. 17° 25′ S. and long. 238° 40′. Our compass showed 8° 20′ of Variation N.E^{ly} as before. It extends six and a half miles S.E. and N.W., and three and a half N.E. and S.W., with a circumference of sixteen miles. It bears E. and W. 3° S^{ly} with the other island of *San Simón y Judas*, distant 37 leagues, and from El Callao 1182[1]. It was given the name of *San Quintín*.

[1] Boenechea quotes its latitude as 17° 30′, and the distance from *Tauere* 34 leagues. Both writers would be nearly correct if they were referring to opposite extremes of the atoll, but this was not so, because both quote the same longitude. The discrepancies in Bonacorsi's account may be due to careless transcription. *Cf.* vol. I, p. 288 and note.

We pursued our course for our destination without more delay than was necessary, attended by favourable winds from E.N.E. to E.S.E., and aiming to keep in the same latitude of 17° 30′. In the near neighbourhood of these islands and the intervals between them we experienced a few calms of short duration, and many rain squalls with thunder and lightning, but without any increase of force or baffling changes in the wind.

Island of *Todos Santos* (Anaa).

In the forenoon of the 9th of October[1] we discovered another island of the same kind as the others, though larger. We came near to it later and the boat went away to examine the E. and E.N.E. part of it, but found no place where a landing was practicable. She stayed but a few hours, however, as she was recalled from on board to bear a hand in towing the Frigate round the S.E. point of a bight in which she had got embayed very close in to the shore, through the wind having died down almost to a calm. We succeeded in working her clear of the land and the boat afterwards went in again to coast along and explore the S. and S.W. sides as far as to the N.W., taking soundings and noting down its points, bays, and lagoons, while we followed her at a moderate distance, N.W. But she neither found any appearance of bottom nor any place where the Frigate might let go an anchor: nor were they able to approach the beach anywhere without boat and crew becoming exposed to great risk (which our business did not warrant). Seeing then that the shore line from the N.W. round towards the N. was even more exposed and that the surf was breaking much more heavily along it, and that it was moreover begirt with reefs without a span's

[1] The 3rd of November was the true date: *cf.* Boenechea's account, vol. 1, p. 288–9. It is easy to misread the figure 3 for 9 in Spanish script.

length of sandy beach anywhere[1], the boat was signalled to come away.

Some 20 Indians of all ages and sexes were counted on the beach in the forenoon, whose build, clothing and weapons were the same as those of the other islands: there are some pretty blonde in hue, others of a tawny colour with frizzly hair, and others again with purely Indian features and the hair lank. The women were draped from the waist to their knees with the same material as the men's breech-clouts; and figured[2] with blue on the shoulders, the entire buttocks, trunk, arms, and legs, in various patterns and stripes. In the afternoon also a great many collected when the boat approached, and as fast as she drew ahead some of them dropped behind, while fresh ones came out from their villages to replace them. Two of them were wearing strings of shells round their necks, and a woman was seen fishing in the lagoon with her net.

This island is larger than the others, but it, too, consists of very low-lying land surrounded by a reef which makes the islets that shut in the lagoon on its western side communicate with each other. These islets are also inhabited, and the whole island appears to teem with people, of whom the greater number are on the E. side. The soil is very fertile, for it is all covered with greenery and full of trees, especially coco-nut palms. Their dwellings are huts thatched with palm leaves, dotted about amidst the groves of palms. No doubt, by the signs they made, they are peaceably disposed; although these too were almost all armed with very long spears or pikes, without knobs but having very sharp points[3].

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[1] Had they persevered a little farther in this direction they would have found a practicable landing place at the village called *Tuuhora*, just to the eastward of the N. extreme of the island.

[2] See vol. I, p. 289, note 1.

[3] See vol. I, p. 287, note 1, and p. 289, note 2.

Some Indians of Peru whom we had amongst the crew tried to speak with them, but neither understood them nor were understood by them.

This island is situated in lat. 17° 55′ S. and long. 236° 55′. Our compass showed 8° 15′ of variation N^ly. It extends twenty miles S.E. and N.W., and nine S.W. and N.E. Its circumference may be forty-nine miles; and it bears E. and W. 17° 30′ Southerly with that of *San Quintín*, distant 32 leagues, and from El Callao 1214. It was allotted the name of *Todos Santos*[1].

As we had no further suspicion or doubt whatever as to this not being the island to which we were bound, nor as to there being no settlement either in it or in those we had passed, nor any communication with any other nation or ship, except their own canoes, we proceeded on our voyage towards the W.....[2] at others moderate, from the E. and E.N.E., with some smart showers, lying to at night so soon as we had covered the distance to the horizon visible before darkness closed in, as a precaution in case of any further unknown land lying in our track.

Peak of *San Cristóbal* (Mehetia).

In fact on the morning of the 16th[3] of November at ten o'clock we sighted high land in the W.S.W. and made every endeavour to get near to it while daylight lasted. Seeing, as we approached, that it was no more than a high peak, the Comandante decided to reconnoitre it that same afternoon; and, being a moderate distance off by four o'clock, the boat went away to examine it, with the same precautions as usual (notwithstanding it was thought to be uninhabited).

While the boat was still a good way off we saw a number of people on the N.E. side clothed in white, and

[1] Cf. vol. I, p. 291, footnote.

[2] Some words, perhaps a line, are here wanting in the MS.

[3] Should be the 6th, *teste* Boenechea. A faulty scribe again.

two canoes with two nude Indians in each. One of these came towards us and presently.....[1] to suit her. She arrived in fact at a quarter after five, with her two Indians, who brought coco-nuts, which they at once handed up [the side] and gave in exchange for some trifle. What they asked for was in their language *Curi*, which we afterwards understood to be their name for nails or any other bits of iron[2]. They would not come on board, nor accept anything after they had got through all their stock of coco-nuts for barter, in spite of our pressing invitations and coaxing; and as it was now late they took themselves off, making signs to us that they would return at sunrise.

The two Indians, though somewhat timorous, nevertheless showed themselves very affable, vivacious and intelligent. In appearance they are well favoured, of good stature, fairly light in hue, being merely browned by the sun, and somewhat tawny about their features and hair, which is crinkly and sticks up in an even mass all over. They had only breech-clouts on, the buttocks and hands being figured with a pigment between lead-colour and blue; and they were without weapons of any kind.

The boat went on with her exploration round the island, and brought up with the grapnel at a spot on the W. side, between two rocks, where some of our people landed; but the warp having parted, and it being already late, they withdrew.

In the early morning as many as eight canoes with two or three Indians in each having managed to get quite close to the ship by daybreak, all bent on the same traffic as the previous afternoon's, many of them ventured on board, clambering up the side with great agility; and seeming

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[1] Another defect of a few words occurs here, such as, perhaps, "we shortened sail."

[2] The word is nowadays *auri*: doubtless the C is a scribe's error for E, as the old lists mostly quote *uri* or *e uri*, and the Tahitian language has no C or K sound in it.

very happy, taking notice of everything, but not showing much wonder.

At half-past eight our boat returned to the shore (and with her all the canoes) for the purpose of taking soundings and ascertaining whether it might be possible to anchor with the Frigate, both for our better satisfaction and to fill some water. One party of our men landed by means of the Indians' canoes at the same spot where they had done so the afternoon before, while the other party proceeded all round the island in the boat, taking soundings, and sketching a plan of it as they went. They found, however, no anchorage, whether for the Frigate or for the boat; nor, again, any place adapted for easily watering ship.

But they saw some twenty Indians or so of all ages and sexes, who comprised apparently all that were in the island. Accompanied and guided by a large number of these our men struck inland for something like a mile along a beaten path, and beyond that they had to clamber up by holding on to the roots of trees that stuck out from rifts in the rocks. They saw two clusters of huts, one of five and the other of seven huts, constructed of palm leaves, the poles of which they are framed being very neatly fitted together. Their greatest height is $3\frac{1}{2}$ *varas*, length from 8 to 10, and width $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$: they are closed in only overhead. We found the jawbone of a corpse hanging up in one hut. Their furniture and chattels consist of little baskets and mats made of palm leaves and rushes; and in some cases a small wooden stool, very skilfully carved all out of one block and having its seat concave[1]. In another there was a puppy of medium size, black and tan, with ears pointed and erect. In others they came across some pens containing pigs as large and as fat as those of Perú, and farther on a stone enclosure of 20 or 25 *varas*, decorated

[1] See Plate, vol. I, p. 336.

round about with posts carved as if with characters, which the Indians would not approach; for, by the look of it, it is their burial place[1], which they hold in great respect. They keep their fire below ground[2], covered over with black porous stones[3] which lie strewn about the entire path and a good part of the hill. The whole of this latter is verdant and pleasing to the view; but on the S.E and S.W. sides the soil is very fertile, and there the natives have their plantations of yams, plantains, coco-nut palms and other trees, some of which bear a sort of pine-cone of which they merely chew the segments at their insertion[4], and others a fruit of the size and shape of an ordinary chirimoya, which, when cooked, is somewhat insipid but not ill tasted[5]. There are three different kinds of plantains, one of which is noteworthy for its size, for each fruit is nearly three inches in diameter and a *cuarta*[6] in length: they eat these roasted. They make a sort of mash of these fruits with which they keep themselves sleek and lusty. Biscuits and salt pork are the only eatables of ours that they care for. In addition to the breech-clout, the men have some *ponchos* of finely made matting, and the women certain white drapery that they get from the bark of a tree after much beating out and working up. They clothe themselves with these from the waist downwards, and many of them over the whole figure.

The carpenter, also, went exploring; but did not find anything particular in the way of timbers. They do all their wood-working with their stone hatchets and adzes, after the manner of our iron ones. They were shown how

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[1] *A marae.*

[2] The *umu* or native oven.

[3] Small fragments of vesicular lava from the clatters on the declivities of the mountain-side.

[4] Pandanus fruit.

[5] Breadfruit.

[6] A *cuarta* is a quarter of a *vara*—say a little more than eight English inches.

to plant and sow, and seeds of all the kinds we had on board were given to them.

Neither minerals, nor aromatic plants, nor any spice tree, were observed. They have plenty of water of good quality ; but in a very inaccessible situation.

Nor was any image of importance noticed amongst them, nor did it appear that they render worship or adoration either to any animate thing or imaginary being.

As our people were coming away an old man presented a pig to the officer, without expecting anything in exchange ; and after bestowing ample rewards or gratuities on them, our men embarked, and with them three Indians all in very happy mood, while some canoes followed after the boat. On seeing that she was being hoisted in and that we were going farther away, and already leaving them astern, two of the Indians departed : and we were only able to retain one, who came along quite unconcernedly. We heard him, and others too, several times mention "OTAHEYTE," the name of the island the Instructions directed us to investigate, at the same time pointing to the W.

It is situated in lat. 17° 50′ S. and long. 234° 55′. Our compass showed 7° of Variation N.E^{ly}. It extends one mile and a third N. and S., E. and W. one ; circumference four and a half miles. With the island of *Todos Santos* it bears E. and W. 3° N^{ly}, distant 43 leagues ; and from El Callao 1257. The name of *Cerro de San Cristóbal* was given to this island, and the Indians call it *Omayto*[1].

Much pleased at having heard the name of the island we wished for, we continued our course at five in the afternoon of the 7th, with the wind favourable from N.E., light. At daybreak the peak was still visible though a long way off, as we had hove to during the night ; and the

[1] *O Mehetu. Cf.* Boenechea's account, vol. I, p. 297 and footnote.

Indian was up very early on the look-out, pointing with glee to the W. and repeating "OTAHEITE!" In point of fact, at half-past eight, land was sighted ahead, high and of wide extent. We made for it with all sail set; and, as by degrees we neared it, the Indian told us the names in his language of the bays and headlands as they successively came into view, by which we knew definitely that he had been there and that it was a very large and mountainous country.

The wind was light from E. for the most part, but now and again contrary with squalls and heavy showers, so that we were not able to get close enough in to lower a boat and prospect for a harbour to anchor in, and set about the exploration with the precautions imposed by our Instructions in case some other nation should have a settlement there[1]. We kept standing off and on abreast of the eastern side of the island awaiting a favourable slant of wind; and on the 10th we saw big smokes towards its northernmost extreme. At nine in the morning a canoe arrived with one Indian, who came on board. He brought some plantains and coco-nuts which he gave in exchange for small knives and other trifles; and, having tried as best he could to inform us how we ought to proceed, he returned again to the shore. A little while later another canoe came off, with two Indians, with whom we held similar intercourse as with the other: both of them clambered up the side and held a great confabulation with the one we had on board from the other island of *Omayto*; and at eleven o'clock they went off.

On the morning of the 12th, having now got into a more weatherly position, it was my turn and I[2] started

[1] See vol. I, pp. 266, 271 &c.

[2] The use of the first person singular here, when compared with Boenechea's journal (vol. I, p. 298) supplies the key to Bonacorsi's authorship of this one.

away at 10 o'clock in the boat, accompanied by our Indian, to examine a part of the coastline to the westward 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$.....astern of the Frigate.....[1]. It was half-past one in the afternoon before we got close in, where we saw that the island is encircled by a reef of rocks from two to four cables distant from the beach. We took soundings and bearings of the points in accordance with the orders I carried; and, observing an innumerable lot of canoes to come out through the reef, we steered for them and found a deepish channel one cable in width, and entered by it[2]. Then, having seen that there were no more people and that the Indians were peaceably disposed and had no weapons, I[3] stepped ashore with a portion of the boat's crew and marines to look round the near neighbourhood.....[4] but very convenient for getting ballast, and wood in plenty; and then I embarked again to proceed along to the south'ard in search of a better harbour. We sailed on inside the reef in some doubt as to whether we should find an exit, dodging about between a number of shoals and accompanied by no end of canoes.

By the confidence with which the Indians indicated to us that there was a place where the Frigate could anchor it certainly seemed that this would not be the first time they had seen one pass within the reefs where the sea was not breaking; and on further inspection we found a passage about a cable and a half wide, and three cables distant from the shore[5]. We took a few casts of the lead inside and got bottom at 14 to 18 *varas*[6], black sand; and after sketching

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[1] This passage is quite unintelligible. It runs as follows:—*por detras de la Fragata de* 3 *à* 3 *y medio* 12 *gra*^{s} *dos tantos de tierra.*

[2] O Vaionifa pass, apparently. *Cf.* Boenechea's journal, vol. I, p. 298.

[3] *Cf.* note 2 on p. 43.

[4] Part of a sentence is evidently wanting here in the MS. although there is no break in the text as written by the scribe.

[5] O Vaiurua passage: *cf.* Boenechea's journal, vol. I, p. 299.

[6] *Cf.* Bonacorsi's own report in Boenechea's journal. There he says 13 to 16 *brazas* (fathoms of 5 ft. 6 in.).

out something of a plan of the whole roadstead, and seeing it was already late, considering the distance the Frigate was keeping off, I headed away for her at four o'clock.

We counted as many as 30 or 40 canoes round us, and the Indians on shore numbered 400 or 500 of all ages and sexes, the whole of them in very merry mood and making a great hullabaloo. Their houses, clothing, produce, and the fertility of the soil [are] the same with little difference, as in the [other] island, [our Indian from which][1] was now anxious to remain on shore, where he pointed out his father and mother to us. But another one, belonging to this last island of *Otayti*, having heard of our good nature from him of *Omayto*, was glad to come into the boat with us of his own free will and to go on board the Frigate, where we arrived at half-past eight at night. I communicated all that I had seen, and it was decided in virtue thereof, that if after making a more detailed survey it should be deemed the Frigate could work out again, in the event of her going in there to anchor, she should do so on the morrow in spite of the wind then blowing being the prevailing one, and of the fact that the passage I brought the boat out by leads exactly E.

At daybreak on the 14th we were far to leeward owing to the wind having become scant, from the S.S.E. and S. In order therefore not to lose the day in beating up again we stood away to reconnoitre the northern extreme. The boat went away on this service at half-past eight, and we kept on the in-shore tack until a quarter to eleven, when we went about and took a cast of the lead while in stays, getting 20 fathoms, bottom of coarse sand, gravel, and small shells. The Comandante decided that if the boat should not bring news of any better place we should

[1] All the words within square brackets are wanting in the MS., which is obviously defective here and does not make sense without them.

come back to this position for an anchorage; and in point of fact, on being recalled, she returned at half-past two without having found any spot adapted for the Frigate's requirements. We then tacked again towards the land with a light air from the S.E. to come up with the 20-fathom patch, being under short canvas in order to allow the boat, which had been ordered to make a closer examination, to draw ahead and prospect. A little after three we took a cast of the lead and got no bottom with 50 fathoms' line. We bore up a little so as to range along the coast a bit and the order was immediately given to heave the lead with more line. At that moment the colour of the water suddenly changed and they sang out for'ard that they could see the bottom and that there was a ledge or reef of rocks. The lead was cast at once and they found 4 fathoms, rocky bottom, wherefore we instantly luffed all we could, with tacks to starboard, in order to head off seawards; but we did not succeed without touching aft, and remained aground as far for'ard as the gangway, in 2½ and 3 fathoms. Her bows remained afloat, and as huge rocks were coming into view on all sides of us, all hands were ordered for'ard; but finding she did not budge, we brailed up everything.

The boat then came along and sounded round us, finding that the water shoaled to port, was of even depth ahead, and deepened to starboard; and, although the rudder was of no service owing to it having got jammed on the rocks by the scend of the sea striking her heavily under the port bow, on hauling the fore-tack aboard, sheeting aft and hoisting the topsails and mizen, and collecting all hands for'ard, she canted a bit, slid off the ledge, and floated. Some three chunks of sheathing-plank or other timber were seen to come away from under the stern, and the tiller was smashed into three pieces. This loss was made good with the spare one, and we continued to gain more offing.

At the time when we struck the boat was already close to the place where we had obtained a sounding in the morning, and where she had been ordered to station herself as a mark; but as she had passed something like two frigate's lengths to windward of the shoal they did not see it, nor notice any change in the bottom on the several occasions when they sounded. And in the position where she was at the time we got aground, which was inshore of us, she had 20 fathoms, coarse sand[1].

Those who went away in the boat exploring the coast to the nor'ard found a bay with not bad anchorage, but one had to cross a reef with but little depth of water over it to get in. They took a good look at all that part, which is very populous and abounds in coco-nuts, plantains and other fruits, like the southern side. There are also many canoes; and the natives, though of the same general type, are even more robust and sleek.

Finding that the pump-well revealed nothing noteworthy since our grounding we continued all night to the south'ard, with the wind at E.S.E. Day broke without anything fresh either; but this and the next day brought with them some squalls and calms down to the morning of the 18th, when, being a moderate distance off at half-past five, the boat went in with Sub-lieutenant Don Juan Herve, the Master, to make a more exact survey of the entrance and its environment on the seaward side of the channel which leads into the harbour I discovered on the 12th, to the S.E., so as to make sure of its being safe to leave by. He returned at seven in the evening and said that, as he had got no word of any other more roomy passage, one might venture in, and then await a favourable day to come out on: not doubting that a land breeze would be felt in there in the early morning.

[1] All the particulars here given of the incident point to the *Artemise* Bank as the place where it happened. See also vol. I, p. 301, note 1.

So for the due fulfilment of our mission the Comandante decided to enter, and at half-past eleven in the forenoon on the 19th of November, having the wind aft from E.S.E., we did so, after first sending the boat to station herself in the middle of the fairway which forms the entrance; and we moored ship with two anchors and two kedges, the vessel's head pointing towards the S.E., and her hull in 27 fathoms, fine black sand.

On the previous afternoon there came off in the boat with the Master the Cacique of the district (which they call *tabalabu*[1]), and three other Indians. They remained on board to sleep, and we treated them with all friendliness and made them feel as welcome as was possible; whilst they, on their part, seemed very well disposed and quite at their ease, and were anxious to serve us as 'longshore pilots for entering the harbour.

The first concern after seeing the Frigate securely moored was to order the diver down to examine her bottom and see whether any repairs were needed, in view of the long and never performed voyage that lay before us for our return. He found, after several dives, that about half of the shoe of the rudder was missing, and that it was somewhat loose about the two lower gudgeons owing to the bending of a pintle, while a portion of the false keel beneath the stern post was also adrift; and, for'ard, a strip of the tongue and part of the false keel next the fore-foot had been torn away. Two *alegrias* were also at fault; and some other defects. All this was reported in Council and it was resolved that there was no sufficient visible damage to call for immediate repair, and that therefore the return voyage should be undertaken whenever it might prove convenient, without change of plan.

[1] This is merely a bad scribe's rendering of *Tallarabu*, now spelt *Taiarapu*.

We set about getting the Frigate into trim with a will, including an overhaul of the water-casks, which had been found to be in a very faulty state; we filled our water and brought off some launch-loads of ballast that we stood in need of. And when the launch's jobs were completed a Council was formed to decide on the best means for making an examination and chart of the entire island as directed in the Instructions. It was resolved that the launch should proceed to make a circuit of the whole, or—provisionally, since we were ignorant of its extent—a portion of the island; leaving it to the judgment of the officer who was to command the expedition to carry it out in so far as weather, provisions, and contingencies might allow.

Accordingly, on the 5th of December, the launch set out under the command of Lieut. Don Thomas Gayangos, with the Revd *Padre Fr.* Jph. Amich, missionary of the Order of Saint Francis and mathematician, Don Ramón Rosales, second Master, and the requisite crew and equipment with provisions for eight days, starting in a northerly direction to begin with.

After we came into harbour the carpenters went to look for timber; and, on meeting with a kind suitable for a tiller, one was made to replace the broken one by. They also got out a mizen-topmast and a main-topsail yard of another timber, that seemed adapted for the purpose; and afterwards cut some firewood such as dead branches and dry logs of no value, in all of which the Indians acquiesced good-naturedly.

Nor did our men lose the opportunity of penetrating into the interior of the country in the neighbourhood of the anchorage, in so far as the rugged nature of the mountains and the frequent rains allowed; and the timbers, crops, herbs, minerals, &c. were duly investigated by their respective experts. At the same time others did their best

to obtain intelligence respecting all the points[1] mentioned in the Instructions,—in the Frigate from the Indians who came on board, and on shore from those who dwelt there or who had come from other districts on learning the news of our arrival.

It is not easy to make a fair estimate of the number of Indians of all ages and sexes who, from the moment when we let go our anchor, came on board and all round about the ship, in their canoes. Some came off at daybreak, but the most of them, and the Chiefs, after the sun was high. They all brought something wherewith to barter with our people; some of them, as they approached, would hold up to our view beautiful bunches of plantains, coco-nuts and other fruits with which their island abounds: others birds that our men admired, others wraps or pieces of cloth of various sorts that they get from the bark of a tree, others mats, others shells and shell-fish, and in fact each one came with whatever his industry had afforded him to give in exchange for the things he had fain get. Those they were most keen after were small knives (which they call *tipi*), hatchets (that they call *toy*[2]), nails and any bit of iron, out of which they fashioned for themselves fish-hooks and tools for wood-working. At first they were glad of any old white or red clout; but by degrees, as they saw good pieces of cloth and shirts, they raised the prices of their wares, and were not content but with finer linen and a shirt, which they called together *paraguay*[3]. They are exceedingly shrewd and quick-witted in their dealing; but they are at the same time very straightforward and by no means given to cheating, so that whenever one of our people was not satisfied with what he had bought they

[1] The word is written *puertos* (harbours), but it is probably intended for *puntos* (points or subjects), which occurs in the Instructions.

[2] *Tipi* is correct. *Toy* stands for *toi*.

[3] *Paruai*.

would at once give back what they had accepted for it. They are something mistrustful, and very covetous; and it is my belief that the dread in which they held us on account of our arms had no[1] more to do with keeping them in hand than their own good inclinations.

They understood from the fellow we brought from the isle of *San Cristobal*, and by the presents we gave them, that we were friendly; nevertheless, when they came on board the first time, swarming up the side from their canoes and clambering in through the portholes, they kept repeating the word "*Tayo*[2]" (which means 'friend' in our language) and were not content until we answered them with the same word and embraced them. And the "*Heris*[3]," as they call them, or caciques, for the most part each took one of us for his particular *tayo* to such good effect that we could never separate ourselves from such an one for one instant.

They are all very fond of fresh meat as food, especially the flesh of swine and poultry. Bread, biscuits, walnuts, almonds, and pears also pleased them; but nothing made into a stew with sauces, nor vinegar, nor anything piquant or salt. They retired always at sunset or a little later.

Towards the latter part of our stay we noticed a sort of epidemic catarrh amongst the majority of them, with sore throat, which troubled them a great deal and prostrated them severely: so much so that almost all those who belonged to other districts, and even those of *Tallarabu*, betook themselves off. We also made out that they believed the ailment had been brought and communicated by our Frigate, and we further suspected that their going off was prompted more by fear than by the

[1] The word 'no' seems unwanted here; but such is the MS.

[2] *Taio.*

[3] *Arii.* See vol. I, p. 13, note 1.

epidemic; for they gave us to understand that another vessel which had been there had inflicted some injury on them when she was about to depart, and this seemed why they took so much care to be always asking us when we intended to go. Still, some one canoe or another never quite gave up coming alongside, down to the time we left.

On the 10th of December our launch returned with all her crew, having made the circuit of the entire island in the space of five nights and six days, and carefully charted it. From the information she brought, and from what was seen and observed, there remains no doubt that this is the island that the Instructions directed should be explored, since the natives who live in it call it "*Otahiti*" and it is situated in lat. 17° 29′ S., and long. 233° 32′ from the meridian of Tenerife —though this latter does not exactly tally with 10 hrs. 7 ms. from that of Paris. But then that may perhaps not be wholly reliable and accurate; and indeed it would be no extraordinary thing if there were some error or mistake in our figures, for in unknown seas and amongst islands it is quite possible for the currents[1] to give rise to some discrepancy.

The name ISLA DE AMAT was given to this island. It extends N.N.W. and S.S.E. nine leagues, W.N.W. and E.S.E. thirteen and a half leagues, circumference from forty to forty-five leagues; and lies sixteen leagues distant from the small island of *San Cristobal*, and 1274 from El Callao[2].

In figure it is like two islands united by a tongue of land two leagues in width which forms two lovely bays on

[1] The MS. has "cortes"—evidently intended for 'corrientes,' or its abbreviation 'cor^{tes}.'

[2] *Cf.* vol. I, pp. 12 and 326.

its N.E. and S.E.[1] sides respectively; and the whole is encircled by a reef of rocks on which the sea breaks heavily, some three to as much as six cables distant from the main shore. Within this the sea is absolutely smooth. There are only two short stretches off the N. and S. extremities [of the island] where there is no reef and the coast is exposed. For entering through the reef and reaching the land there are several breaks with channels of ample depth which expand inside into roadsteads or regular harbours as the plan shows; although it is to be noted that only the one where we lay at anchor in the Frigate (called after *Santa Maria Magdalena*) on the S.E. side, in the district of *Sallalara*[2], is at present properly surveyed and has had any exact plan made of it. Time did not permit of so detailed an examination of the others; and one ought to be very careful in entering or leaving by them all, their mouths being skirted by low reefs which are not noticed save at very short range, besides which the wind is apt to die away in the entrance, and in such case any vessel may become endangered by the tides and currents. For these reasons it is necessary to try to pass in with a good steady breeze, in the morning and on the flood tide, for the ebb is much stronger and lasts (at any rate at the surface) a longer time. In the harbour of *Santa Maria Magdalena* during the full and change [of the moon] high water occurs at one o'clock in the afternoon, and the rise is only from one to one and a half fathoms[3].

[1] The MS. has S.E.; but obviously S.W. would be correct, and was doubtless intended, the "tongue" or neck of land mentioned being the isthmus of *Taravao* which, however, contracts to barely two *miles* at the narrowest point.

[2] Meant for *Taiarapu* again.

[3] The MS. has *vrajas*, which is most likely meant for *brazas* (fathoms) though it might do for *varas* (yards), considering the general carelessness of the scribe. As a matter of fact the rise and fall is no more than about fourteen inches usually, or not half a *vara*. *Cf.* Boenechea's observations, vol. I, p. 329.

There are rocky patches dotted about over the bottom, too, which cause much injury to one's cables.

Most of the country-side is mountainous and rugged, and only on the N.W. and S.W. sides are there any level tracts and gently sloping valleys, besides the strip of land formed by the large bays on its N.E. and S.W.[1] Nevertheless it consists of black soil throughout, very fertile and well wooded,—strewn, indeed, with some loose stones, but covered everywhere with wild herbage, trees of various kinds and sizes, brushwood and thorns, which form, in places, dense and impenetrable thickets. Water is very plentiful, for permanent streams pour down most of the ravines and unite[2] at the skirts of the hills to form middling-sized brooks and rivers. Most of the cultivation is to be found in the valleys and flats which extend from the foot of the mountains to the sea-beach, for it is here only that the natives reside; and, in places, these are only two or three cables or even less, in width. Only the district of *Payala*[3] is fairly broad. Palms with many coco-nuts are in the greatest abundance, for the entire island is fringed with these trees which, from a little distance off, afford a most beautiful prospect. There are five kinds of plantains: two of them especially noteworthy, the one for its size, and the other for its fine flavour; the latter being something like those they call "*de la tierra*" at Lima. They have plenty of yams, of which they plant quantities, and these serve them, together with the other fruits I have mentioned in the description of Mount *San Cristobal*, for preparing certain puddings and mashes that they partially bake, and afterwards eat cold: and which are very nourishing for them. There are also other fruits that they do not cultivate, some having the taste of a chestnut, others of a walnut, others

[1] *Cf.* note 1 on p. 53. The MS. here has S.W. correctly written.
[2] The MS. has "*sugetan*," doubtless meant for *se juntan*.
[3] *i.e.* Papara. The '*y*' is a copyist's error.

of an apple[1]; but they are not like those of Europe as to their form, nor as to the trees [they grow on], and are generally all of the poorest flavour to our palates. The few red sweet potatoes they also possess are exceedingly well-tasted. There is a root resembling ginger, and there are some white flowers like daisies, with a very nice scent: others in the likeness of poppies, which are also very pretty to look at, but the rest are commonplace[2].

Those who fare best are the Caciques and headmen, for they possess pigs of fair size, and also fowls; because (although we saw none) those who went round the island in the launch heard hens and cocks crow on two mornings, and they [the Chiefs] told us so too. Thus it is that the *arii* or Caciques are all stout, some of them to ungainliness, so that they have two Indians constantly kneading[3] their legs and even then are scarcely able to stand upright.

The common people frequently suffer a dearth of food, and most of them support themselves on cockles, and some fish which they eat raw. The good and finer fish, of which there is great plenty in the sea, are [reserved] for the *arii* and principal persons. The men eat apart from the women, and they tuck such quantities into their mouths that they can scarcely chew: so that these all become regular little baker's ovens.

There are dogs of several breeds: some quite small, and others very large and hairy. Mice in plenty and very tame. Of special birds only blue parroquets with red bill and feet; but there are parrots, wood-pigeons and many other common birds. In the space of two leagues for which [our people] were able to penetrate into the interior in the neighbourhood of the harbour, though they did so

[1] The *ihi*, *tutui*, and *'ahi'a* respectively: see vol. I, p. 327.

[2] Don Raimundo was clearly no florist. His 'daisy' was probably the *tiare* or native gardenia (*Randia tahitensis*, Nadeaud) and his 'poppy' the common scarlet hibiscus (*H. Rosa-sinensis*, Linn.).

[3] *Rumi*: *taurumirumi*. Polynesians are expert in massage.

with much labour on account of the rugged nature of the hillsides and denseness of the forest, a few good timbers were noted; some like a kind of lignum vitae, others resembling the yellow guaiacum, others seemingly adapted for yards and topmasts, others for knees and various requirements in shipbuilding, and yet others apparently serviceable, but of which no proper opinion could be formed because we were unacquainted with their lasting qualities and grain.

The houses in which the natives live are of the same class and construction as those at the isle of *San Cristobal*, except that there are some larger ones of an oval shape in which whole mobs of people gather together. The *arii* and Chiefs have numerous huts of their own, standing apart and better built. Their chattels consist of small baskets, mats, cloth strips, little stools for seats and head-rests, a few bowls for mashing their food in.

Most of them sleep on the ground, with a sheaf of dried grasses beneath them and wraps [of native cloth] for covering; but he who sleeps more comfortably lies on a small platform and uses a stool for a pillow. Others sleep in the cuddies of their canoes, which they haul up and keep under a shed every night, because their construction costs them much labour; having no tools but stone ones, and, for smoothing implements, the skins of sharks or other large fish.

Most of the canoes are formed of separate pieces of timber very neatly scarfed, and joined up by lacing with a very strong kind of cord that they make. The seams are caulked with dry coco-nut fibre and a sort of resin that they get out of a tree, after being well seasoned, and which they call *tepao*[1]. At times they couple two canoes

[1] Should be *tapau*—the sticky exudation from parts of the bread-fruit tree, when wounded: and also the resin of the *tamanu* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.).

together abreast with a space between them, and rig up their cuddy on a small platform which connects the hulls. Others are handled with sails made of mats, and go out fishing with hooks made of different kinds of shells. They also fish up beautiful pearl-shells; but, though we made enquiry for pearls, we saw but very few and only small ones.

These Indians are very quick and intelligent, very ready to make friends with us, but exceedingly covetous and importunate; from which they derive a proneness to steal whenever an opportunity presents itself to them; and even the Chiefs were not exempt from this propensity.

The freedom in which they live favours license, in some sort; nevertheless most of them have but one wife, others two, and but few as many as three, whom it appears they can put away when they are tired of them.

No form of adoration or worship has been observed amongst them, though they explained to us that they offer up a sacrifice every six months, in the shape of a small hog, to a God who is the one who brings death upon them. They preserve their dead and keep them without burial until they begin to putrefy; and then they deposit them in a grave dug within one of the enclosures that serve for tombs, and lay some fruits on top for their sustenance (or that of the maggots). They pay great respect to these places of sepulture, and they do not willingly approach them themselves nor do they like other persons to pass near.

I do not venture to write of their various superstitions because, since it is not easy to understand them, each person forms a different idea of what they observe, or wish to give us to believe they do; and there would now be a thousand misapprehensions and uncertainties about things which, in course of time, four Indians of the island whom we have on board, may reveal to us [with greater clearness].

But one thing about which there is no doubt is that,

at a certain age, they are circumcised; for the smallest whom we took with us will be from ten to twelve years old and has not yet been done, while the other three have.

The clothing is the same as in the other island, and so is the puncturing[1]; except that we know, in addition, that they do not puncture the buttocks so long as they remain unmarried, but use only a few small devices dotted over the arms and hands.

There were observed in the island eight principal *arii*, and some others of inferior degree; and one who is the chief one of all, whom the rest recognise as their superior. Nevertheless, I do not think they render him much obedience, as each one rules his respective district. Some of the latter are at cross purposes with one another, and I believe that they even fight, at times, as do the natives of the neighbouring island called *Morea*.

Sundry of the Indians who came on board of us gave us to believe that there are as many as twenty or more islands not very far from each other; but there may be some mistake about this.

We also understood, without the slightest doubt, that two vessels like this frigate had been at anchor at this island of *Otaeyte* or "AMAT," and that one of them went away and returned to port here on several occasions. It is a fact that we saw, and are bringing with us, a *poncho* [made] of the woollen stuff they use at Buenos Ayres and the *Malvinas*, which one of the Indians was wearing[2]. Another had an iron axe, now broken, but not of our stock; some fish-hooks made out of nails, and the blade of a small knife, are also evident signs.

Their knowledge of the manner of coming to an anchor and furling sails, of the use of cannon, muskets and other

[1] *i.e.* tattooing.

[2] *Cf.* vol. I, p. 304, note 3.

arms, their questioning us as to why we did not carry masts of the same kind as the other ship, whose build and size they described very clearly, their mentioning, too, that the Captain of one of the vessels had a big nose and ate with a two-pronged fork[1], would seem to leave no manner of doubt that some ship has certainly been at the island.

In the course of time our four Indians will clear up all this and much more that it is wished to know, for a good deal of progress is necessary yet before we can understand each other in regard to out-of-the-way matters or lengthy conversations. These considerations and many others led to a decision being come to in full Council to find, by some means or other, three or four Indians among the natives of these islands and endeavour to convey them with us in safety: which in fact we did, at our departure, with four of them of suitable ages and good intelligence, so that the experiment should not go amiss as we know from other accounts has happened with several travellers.

Our commission being now brought to a close, apparently in the best manner it could be, the Comandante decided to make sail and proceed to the island of *Morea* with a view to its investigation; and therefore, at ten in the morning of the 20th of December, 1772, we got under way with the wind from N.N.E., moderate, by slipping the end of our after spring, and the for'ard cablet and stream anchor, which we left the launch to recover; and we succeeded in passing safely out between the points [of the reef] at a quarter past ten. At the time of putting to sea there was hardly a single Indian to be seen on the beach.

[1] Bonacorsi could not, of course, give any clue as to whether it was Capt. Cook or M. de Bougainville whom the natives credited with these peculiarities; but on comparing his narrative with Hervé's account [vol. I, p. 351] it would seem that the guilty party was Banks. Of the three men, however, probably Cook would have been the more content with such a fork as that mentioned. See also notes 2 and 3 on the page just cited.

The climate of Amat's island is hot and humid, for there was scarcely a day during the time of our stay in the harbour and its vicinity when it did not rain. The sky would clear up quickly again, and the sun shed its rays with such force that, although the Indians seek shelter and cover from them, some of our men who were not able to protect themselves got their bodies so scorched that the skin peeled off all over them and it became necessary to bleed them and place them under treatment on the sick list.

The prevailing winds during all this time were.....[1] rather than those (as we believed) from N. and N.E., very fresh, with smart showers, thunder and lightning; giving cause for much watchful care because the situation is confined. There is a land breeze almost every morning from the W., but faint, and scarcely extending half a league out to sea. S. and S.E. winds have no force. The climate nevertheless appears a healthy one, for our people kept well in spite of all the labour they had to perform; and the natives are extremely fleshy, sleek and healthy.

The launch arrived alongside at a quarter past three in the afternoon with the stream anchor, cablet, and spring; and we stood coastwise along the southern side of the island named AMAT'S. Next day we were close to the island of *Morea*: we skirted a great part of it, but found ourselves somewhat handicapped by calms and currents[2], and we were not able to lower the boat in order to send her inshore, lest we should have need of her. We continued so until the morning of the 22nd, and when, at noon, a breeze set in from N.N.E., which was adverse for

[1] MS. defective. Boenechea says the 1st quadrant: see vol. I, p. 326–7. This was the hot season, be it remembered.

[2] The Admiralty Sailing Directions warn ships against attempting this channel under canvas only, for this very reason.

closing in with the island and would have involved much delay if we had sought to make any farther examination of it, it was decided in Council to proceed on our course for Chile. This, therefore, we did, about midday, heading S.E. 4° S., with the wind from N.N.E., fresh: particularly as the officer who made the circuit of AMAT'S in the launch had held a long conversation with one of the *arii* [of *Moorea*] and many of its people, during which he enquired of them for all the information about harbours, and ships, without learning anything more than had been told us by those of AMAT'S as to their having seen any other vessel or vessels like ours.

Island of *Santo Domingo* (Moorea).

This island, called by the natives who live there *Morea*, and to which the name *Santo Domingo* was given by us, is situated in 17° 26′ of latitude S. and in longitude 233°. It extends six miles N. and S., seven miles E. and W., and is twenty-one in circumference. It is separated from that of AMAT, on the W. side of the latter, by a channel or strait of exceeding depth and three or four leagues in width E. and W. It is mountainous, and has a very high pyramid-shaped peak at its S.W. part[1]. It is surrounded by reefs which stretch a good way out to sea. The people who inhabit it are of the same kind as those of AMAT'S Island; their huts, its productiveness, and the manner of living are also the same, according to what was seen, and gathered from our informants.

We proceeded on our course, increasing both latitude and longitude; and the winds so favoured us that we passed the tropic after eight days' run, and after twenty-five were in lat. 38° and had also gained 14° in longitude.

[1] Mount *Tohivea*, 3975 ft.

To run down our easting cost us more trouble, notwithstanding that we experienced but few strong head winds. There were some from the S.E., but of short duration; and from S.E. they chopped into the N.E., then North winds very fresh, N.W., W. and S.W., to S. calms and light airs, till they veered again to S.E., fresh, and worked round as before[1].

This good fortune attended us until our arrival in port, for had there been no N.N.E., N., and N.W. winds I believe we should not have reached there.

The highest latitude we touched was 39° 11′ S., on the 15th of February.

The sea showed no discolouration due to the bank of soundings off Juan Fernandez's islands, as we were from 45 to 50 leagues S. of the land[2]; and, without any guiding mark but the birds and the colour of the water, nor having seen any vessel whatever, land was sighted ahead at noon on Sunday the 21st of February, and, cracking on all sail with a stiff 7½ knot breeze from the south'ard, we soon recognised it to be the heights of San Antonio. Steering thence towards the N.E. we succeeded in entering the harbour of Valparayso and letting go the stream anchor, at six in the evening of the 21st of February of the year 1773. We got the ship securely moored N.N.E. and S.S.W. during the night; having occupied 61 days on the voyage, from the date when we proceeded on our course from the island of *Santo Domingo*, and 148 days from that of our departure from El Callao: with very little or no error in the

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[1] This sentence is very clumsily drafted or copied in the MS. and, being written without punctuation, is difficult to render; but I have followed the words *verbatim* and the sense is correctly represented by the translation.

[2] This sentence is even more confused in the MS. and contains, in the middle of it, the first two lines of the Journal, repeated through some gross carelessness on the part of the scribe, probably when resuming after an interruption.

reckoning or account, for at the most it was scarcely 10 or 15 leagues too easterly[1].

The four Indians we obtained from AMAT'S Island arrived safely, as well as those whom we had brought with us from the port of El Callao. Only two serious cases of illness were landed here at Valparayso, of whom one rated as a ship's boy died after being two days on shore; the lad had been unwell when he started from El Callao, and was kept in the sick bay throughout the voyage. The other serious case, with a baddish attack of scurvy, and others beginning to get it, are all improving.

The biggest of the Indians from AMAT'S Island will be seemingly about 35 to 40 years of age: he is called Pauiti in his own country, and here Thomas. The next will be from 25 to 28 years, called Tripitipia and here Joseph: the other from 16 to 18 years called Osehellao in the island and here Francisco: and the smallest will be 10 or 12 years, named Getuani, and here he is called Manuel[2].

We are now busily engaged in getting ready to proceed to the exploration of the isle of *San Carlos* in accordance with the purport of our Instructions and the last part of our commission, in order to return from thence to the Port of El Callao de Lima.

[Dated] at the Port of Valparayso, at anchor: to-day the 6th of March of the year 1773.

[Unsigned.]

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[1] As they had accumulated 6° of easterly error during the run from Callao to Tahiti, they may have eliminated it during the passage back from thence to Valparaiso; and as they did not at any time know the true longitude of Tahiti it would seem to Bonacorsi and his colleagues that their reckoning had worked out nearly correct all through. If, on the other hand, they depended for their longitude on the D.R. alone one would expect the error to have increased in proportion to the distance sailed, irrespective of the course.

[2] These names should read Pautu, Tipitipia, O Heiao (?), and Tetuanui respectively.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE *AGUILA*,

UNDER CAPTAIN DON DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA,

TO TAHITI:

1772—1773.

BY

THE MISSIONARY PADRE

FR. JOSEPH AMICH,

A MEMBER OF THE EXPEDITION.

[Translated from *El Viagero Universal,—Tomo* XVII: a work edited by Don Pedro Estala, and printed and published at Madrid, (*Imprenta de Villalpando*), 1798.]

LETTER CCLXXXII.

First voyage of the Spaniards to Otaheti[1].

THROUGH the arrival at the port of El Callao, in the year 1769, of a French ship[2] which had come from the East Indies, it became known that an Island had been sighted which lies in 27° 30′ South latitude at a little more than six hundred leagues apart from the coast of Chile. This island was seen in the year 1685 by an English vessel whose captain was called Davis[3], and he named it after himself. The Viceroy of Perú, Don MANUEL DE AMAT, despatched a ship of the line called the *San Lorenzo* and a frigate called the *Santa Rosalia* to take stock of this island. They sailed from the port of El Callao on the 10th of October, 1770, and sighted the island in question[4] on the 15th of November of the same year.

They took soundings all round it with much care, and found the holding ground bad everywhere, being rocky,

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[1] For some particulars of the publication of this narrative, firstly in Spanish, next in German, and later in French, see vol. I, Introduction, pp. xxxviii–ix and xliii–iv.

[2] The *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, commanded by M. de Surville. She failed to find Easter Island, which was her real or alleged destination, but reached El Callao on April the 9th, 1770. See Bibl. no. 32 (*a*), no. 59, and MSS. nos. 1, 2 and 3.

[3] The actual date was 1687. There is little doubt that Davis never saw Easter Island, but fell in with *Temoe* (Crescent Island). Geographers afterwards wrote of his landfall as "Davis's land"—he himself gave it no name; and, when Roggeveen discovered and named Easter Island, this spot became associated with Davis's report because the latitudes, as quoted, corresponded.

[4] *viz.* the real Easter Island, of Roggeveen. See Bibl. no 32 (*a*).

with some sand. Only on the north side was there any roadstead, it being a matter of one mile distant from land and having a bottom of coarse sand with a depth of twenty to fifty fathoms' water. In all the circuit of the island, which counts twelve leagues, they found no convenient landing-place excepting one small sandy cove: all the remainder being strewn with boulders and exposed to the violence of the waves.

The island is peopled with wild Indians: well-built, and bronzed by exposure to all weathers, for they go naked, merely concealing their parts with a girdle made of plantain cloth[1]. They showed themselves well disposed; they are idolaters, and have many stone idols of enormous size[2]. The Comandante of the ship, Don Francisco[3] Gonzalez, ordered three crosses to be placed on three hillocks that stand at the east end; but the Indians removed them the next day. The inhabitants of the island appeared to amount to a thousand of all ages and sexes: they have their dwellings below ground because the island affords no timber for building with. It is of middling height: the land stony, but in parts it grows *yucas*[4], sugar-cane, yams, plantains and gourds. It has no forest tract, but there are some patches of scrub: water is also lacking, and they get what they have from wells they make on the sea-beaches.

[1] The writer had doubtless been at Manila, where the fibres of the stems of *Musa textilis* are woven into a fine cloth, for which, seeing plantains at Easter Island, he mistook the natives' *maro* of Broussonetia bark.

[2] Spaniards were wont to assume that every idea that was non-orthodox was *ipso facto* heathen, and that every object carved in the likeness of a human figure was of necessity an "idol" intended for adoration. Moreover, the writer of this narrative was a seaman turned cleric, and may be supposed to have been inclined to narrow mindedness. The remarkable stone statues at Easter Island are now considered to have been formed and set up as sepulchral effigies of deceased ancestors, the natives' veneration for whose memory may easily have been regarded by the Spaniards of the eighteenth century as a form of worship.

[3] "Francisco" is an error for Felipe.

[4] See vol. I, p. 6, note 3.

There are some small chickens, and also fish in very small quantity.

(A trustworthy person who has conversed with people who were at the island has assured me that the number of its inhabitants never exceeds nine hundred, because the islanders declare that the land will not maintain more than that. When this number is complete, if any child be born they kill some one who is over seventy years old; and if there be none such, they kill the newly born one.)

The aforementioned ships having returned to the port of El Callao, with plans of Davis's island—on which the name of *San Carlos* was bestowed—the Viceroy communicated this information to H.M., who directed that measures be concerted for forming a settlement on the island: both in order to prevent its being occupied by any other nation, as well as to enable the Holy Gospel to be preached there to the native inhabitants.

In order to give effect to this command of H.M. the naval frigate *Santa Maria Magdalena*, *alias* the "Aguila," was got ready early in May of the year 1772, her captain being Don Domingo Boenechea; and the Viceroy having asked for two missionary clerics from the College at Ocopa, that they might go in the frigate, the *padres* Fr. Juan Bonamo, an Italian, and Fr. Joseph Amich[1], a Catalan who in his time had long served as Master in the King's ships, were appointed. As there was no exact information about the isle of *San Carlos* or its natives, no attempt was made to form any settlement at this time, but [they were] to thoroughly explore it and gain intelligence of everything that might conduce to the stability of any subsequent arrangements. With this object some clothing and other things were put on board to be given away to the Indians, in order, by such attentions, to gain their goodwill.

[1] The writer of the original narrative from which Don Pedro Estala edited the printed version. *Cf.* note 1 on p. 77.

Just when the frigate was ready to sail the Viceroy received advices from the Spanish Government in which it was announced to him that the English had been at an island in the Pacific Ocean called by them "King George's Island," and by the natives there "*Otaheti*," found in latitude 17° 29′ South, and 150° 40′ 17″ West of the meridian of Paris: and he was instructed to have this island explored. The Viceroy kept this commission a secret; but proceeded with the fitting out of the frigate, giving out merely that she was bound on a voyage of reconnaissance to the isle of *San Carlos*: so that when the vessel was fully equipped, and furnished with a suitable complement and crew, and had taken six months' provisions on board, they sailed from the port of El Callao on the 26th day of September of 1772, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The Viceroy had handed to Don Domingo Boenechea, the Captain of the frigate, a sealed packet of orders to be opened so soon as he should be ten leagues clear away from El Callao; and, this distance having been attained, the packet was opened accordingly and found to comprise two missions in the one voyage: namely, the examination of the island of *Otaheti*, and that of the isle of *San Carlos*; leaving it to the Captain's judgment to proceed on either soever of the two missions first, and even to make for the port of Valparaiso after having executed the first one, in order to refresh, and then to start anew in prosecution of the second. After the two sections of the commission had been considered by the Captain and Officers it was decided to set about the quest and examination of the island of *Otaheti* first, and a course was therefore set W.S.W. in order to gain the latitude in which it was said to lie[1].

After we had got clear of the coast we stood on our course and carried the trade-wind in our favour, [blowing]

[1] The text reads thus far as if narrated by Don Pedro Estala. From this point it proceeds in the first person, in Amich's own words.

from S.S.E. to E.N.E., with occasional showers; when we had reached the latitude we wanted a course was steered W. in search of our island. On the 28th of October at daybreak a small wooded island was sighted at E.N.E., about four leagues distant; and, judging by the direction in which it bore from us, we must have passed within a matter of half a league of it at two o'clock in the small hours of the morning. We luffed round on a bowline to reconnoitre it; but the wind, being contrary, did not allow us to gain the weather gauge of the island until the 30th. On the afternoon of the 29th, having got near to its western extremity, a bonfire was lit up on the island; and we naturally concluded there must be people there, survivors probably of some shipwreck: because the island is quite small, made up of three islets connected by shoals and enclosing a large lagoon inside, in which were some canoes. The land is low-lying, with a light growth of jungle and some coco-nut palms.

Finding ourselves to windward of the island at daybreak on the 30th we sent the boat in to explore it; and scarcely had she approached the shore when about twenty Indians emerged from the jungle, armed with spears or long pikes, and some with clubs. They were nude, and covered their parts with kerchiefs seemingly of cotton. They were stoutly built and very brown, they wore their hair short, and it appeared to be very coarse. They followed along [the beach] after the boat, and kept lighting fires in the scrub, at which signal some more Indians similarly armed came forward; and whenever it seemed to them that the boat was trying to gain the beach they ranged themselves in position and made gestures as if to oppose a landing. The shore of this island is everywhere composed of white and reddish rocks, and quite steep-to. The boat was unable to approach the beach because of the heavy surf; nor could they find any anchorage for the frigate, nor any passage

into the lagoon. Seeing therefore that it was impossible to reach the shore without obvious danger of the boat being lost, she returned alongside; and after hoisting her in we resumed our course.

We named this island *San Simon's*, but it might well be called [the Isle] of Flies, from the many that came off with the boat. It is situated in latitude 17° 25′ South, and in longitude 241° 10′ from the meridian of Tenerife: being distant from the harbour of El Callao 1118 sea leagues[1].

Continuing our voyage, we discovered on the 31st of October, at 9 in the morning, a low island in the W.N.W. with light jungle and some palms on it. We headed towards it and coasted along its northern side. Some very grim looking Indians armed with long spears came forward. As there was no place, anywhere along the shore, adapted for exploring (being full of reefs throughout), we did not lower the boat to attempt it. We named this island *San Quintin's*: it lies in latitude 17° 30′ South, and in longitude 239° 16′ from the meridian of Tenerife. From *San Simon's* isle it is distant 38 sea leagues[2].

Having due regard to the islands that were now being encountered, which are not on the maps, and to the fact that there might be others of the same kind, it was decided to lie to every night, and to proceed only by daylight.

On the 1st of November, at five in the afternoon, a low island was discovered in the W., which appeared to be of considerable extent. There was no chance to reconnoitre it then, because the daylight was scant; so we lay to all through the night, during which there were many heavy showers of rain. In the morning it fell calm, and we were consequently still not able to get near to the island. On the 3rd of November, having approached it on the N.E.

[1] This was *Tauere*. See pp. 32–34 and vol. 1, pp. 286–7, note 2 and Plan.

[2] *Haraiki*. See pp. 34–36 and vol. 1, p. 288, note 1 and Plan.

side, by nine o'clock in the morning the boat went away in to see whether there was any place that could be explored; but the shore is so beset with reefs that it was not possible to reach it at any part. More than a hundred Indians of all ages and sexes came out upon the beach, seemingly in merry mood; but about one o'clock in the afternoon, having been unable to effect a landing anywhere, the boat returned, at which time we lay all but becalmed and jammed close in to the shore—which shoals very suddenly—and she was obliged to tow the frigate nearly all the afternoon to free us from danger. We succeeded in keeping at a moderate distance off all night.

On the 4th of November, being then near the S.E. part of the island with a rather fresh breeze from N.E., the boat went in at 8 o'clock in the morning to reconnoitre, the frigate keeping meanwhile in sight of her under short canvas. The boat coasted all along the S.W. portion of the island without finding any fit landing-place, owing to the rocky nature of the foreshore throughout. Seeing its impracticability we recalled the boat at one o'clock and, after hoisting her in, proceeded on our voyage.

This island is much larger than the other two, and consists of a great many islets connected together by barriers and ledges of reef, so that a large lagoon is formed in the middle. It extends lengthwise six leagues from S.E. to N.W. Its surface is slightly raised, and the bush is very dense, the trees composing it being of fairly large growth, with many palms. We named this island after *todos los Santos*[1]: its eastern extreme lies in latitude 17° 35′ South, and in longitude 237° 36′ from the meridian of Tenerife: being distant from *San Quintin's* isle 32 sea leagues.

Continuing our course we discovered, on the 6th of

[1] *Anaa* or Chain island. See pp. 36–38, and vol. I, pp. 288–92 notes, and Plan.

November at nine in the morning, a very high hill in the W.S.W. We steered for it, and it was seen to be quite a small island, although so high, and clothed with verdure. By four in the afternoon we had got close in, and despatched the boat to explore the island from its South side while we in the frigate sailed round it by the northern end. A small canoe of the island came off with two Indians in it making a great show of merriment: they brought some coco-nuts which they bartered for small knives and other trifles. The boat returned at seven at night and we learnt from her that it was peopled by some 150 persons of all ages and sexes. The island is full of woodland and of coco-nut palms. We made short tacks to maintain our position to windward, all night, and to ascertain whether there was any anchorage where the frigate might water.

On the 7th, at eight in the morning, the boat went ashore to investigate, and six canoes with three Indians in each came off about the same time, bringing coco-nuts, some fish, and various curiosities, that they exchanged for small knives, shirts, and trinkets of sorts. The Indians of this island are well built, stout, of a light hue, and have beards although but scanty: their hair is somewhat frizzly, but some of them have it lank. They commonly go naked, but some wear a small smock of very fine matting. They are very light-hearted and mirthful.

The natives call this island *Omaetu*[1]; and we gave it the name of *San Christobal*, because of the likeness its hill bears to the one called "San Christobal's[2]" at Lima. It lies in 17° 45′ latitude South, and in 235° longitude from the meridian of Tenerife: being distant from the island of *Todos Santos* fifty leagues.

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[1] *Mehetia*, formerly called *Mehetu*, and anciently *Tuhua*. See pp. 38–42, and vol. I, pp. 292–7, notes and Plan.

[2] Itself so called after another of the same name, near Cadiz.

At three in the afternoon the boat returned, having found no anchorage, nor any safe landing except by the help of the Indians' canoes; and having hoisted her in we proceeded on our voyage. It was the Captain's wish to take some Indian away with us from the island; but, contented in their wretchedness, not one would voluntarily forsake his native soil. One very cheery Indian, however, took a fancy to the carpenter's mate, and came off with him to the frigate, where he remained of his own accord.

On the 8th of November at nine in the morning high land came into view to the westward, stretching towards the N.W., and the instant the Indian saw it he shouted out excitedly "*Otaheti! Otaheti!*" and, pointing to the land in sight, gave us to understand that that was the name of it. The Indian repeated "*Otaheti*" so many times that the Captain was thereby put in mind of the tenour of his instructions, and on considering them attentively together with the agreement in the name, it was concluded that the land now in sight must be the same island of *Otaheti* that we were in search of; notwithstanding that, according to our computation, we still wanted a hundred leagues [of westing] before reaching its longitude[1]. This island lies nineteen leagues distant from that of *San Christobal*. As the wind had died down almost to a calm, the Captain did not then venture to make for the coast, of whose character he was ignorant.

The whole of the 9th, 10th, and 11th were calm, with some rain-squalls. As our Indian gave us to understand that there was a harbour and watering place in the island of *Otaheti*, the boat was sent ashore on the 12th, when the wind had settled itself into the E., with an officer and also the Indian from *San Christobal*. She returned at eight o'clock at night, bringing word that they had found a fairly

[1] As elsewhere shown, their reckoning had now 6° of easterly error.

good harbour with a watering place, ballast, and wood handy.

The 13th dawned with the wind from N.E., and in view of the information brought off by the boat and the description the Indian had given us, it was decided in council that we should proceed into harbour to water and refresh; but as the wind was light this was put off until the next day.

The 14th dawned with the wind from S.E. and we found ourselves to leeward, towards the northern side of the island. Having despatched the boat to investigate the coast, we made a board landwards, and when we were two miles off shore we got bottom at twenty fathoms, fine sand and small shells. As it seemed to us likely to prove a better bay than the harbour already examined by the boat, it was decided to anchor there: while the cables were being cleared and got ready we wore ship and stood to seaward for an hour or so, and we next tacked towards the land, the boat keeping ahead of us and sounding as she went. At ten in the forenoon, being then two miles from shore, we suddenly found ourselves fast on a ledge of rocks with but little water over it. The frigate hung by the heel somewhere, and, although there was nothing of a sea on, so soon as the rudder touched, the tiller was smashed into pieces. 'Twas by God's grace that there should be no swell; and, as the frigate was touching only by her after part, the wind, which was along shore, swung her head towards the N.W., and with what little way she had on her she bumped on a rock beneath her larboard bilge, which slewed her to N.; and then, on our setting the foresail, she floated clear.

When the frigate grounded the boat was a mile inshore of her, in twenty fathoms' water. The pumps were sounded as soon as the frigate floated, and nothing unusual was found as regards water [in the holds]. We clapped on sail

to get clear of the coast, and the spare tiller we carried was shipped in place of the other.

All the 15th, 16th, and 17th light airs and heavy showers prevailed, and we endeavoured to keep near the coast.

On the morning of the 18th the boat was sent inshore with the Master to thoroughly examine the harbour. It returned at dusk with the Cacique of that district; and the Master gave his assurance that the anchorage was good and safe, on account of which it was decided to proceed into that harbour and bring up, in order to overhaul the frigate.

The 19th of November dawned with the wind from N.E., and although there were some smart showers, we proceeded, with the boat ahead taking soundings, and at eleven in the forenoon let go in sixteen fathoms, fine sand, in the harbour we named after the *Aguila*, situated at the S.E. part of the island, in the district of *Tallarabu*, distant from the port of El Callao one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven sea leagues.

The diver here examined the frigate's bottom, and according to his report, a portion of sheathing plank was torn away from the keel for a matter of two fathoms at the after end, and another strip of about one fathom just by the stem; but as the vessel was not making water it was concluded with good reason that her bottom was not damaged.

The strong currents experienced at this anchorage (although the rise and fall of the tide is barely two feet)[1] obliged us to moor the frigate head and stern.

As H.M. had deemed proper that an accurate description of the island of *Otaheti* should be noted down, and the duty of preparing it was imposed in the Instructions issued by the Viceroy, the Commander of the Frigate decided

[1] *Cf.* p. 53, note 3; and vol. I, p. 329, note 2.

that the launch should proceed round the island in order that the Royal Command should be duly complied with. The First Lieutenant of the Frigate, and also myself[1], went off on this service, together with a Master's mate, a serjeant, three marines, and the launch's full crew: we occupied six days on the cruise, and I[1] drew up the following account.

LETTER CCLXXXIII.

Description of Amat's Island.

THE Island of *Otaheti* (to which, in compliment to the Lord Viceroy, we gave the name of AMAT'S Island) is more than forty leagues in circuit. Its shape is almost round; though irregular, in that a break of low land divides it into two unequal peninsulas, leaving a neck two leagues[2] wide from N.E. to S.W. between the two seas. The greater peninsula lies on the N.W. side of this; and the lesser one [stretches] in the opposite direction. The length from N.W. to S.E. is fourteen leagues[3]: its central point is situated in latitude 17° 30′ S., and in longitude 233° 40′ from the meridian of Tenerife[4].

The country is high and mountainous, with no more lowland than the neck which unites the two peninsulas[5]. The mountains are rugged, especially on the S.E. side, and in the northern part; where they form numerous ravines down which course streams of good water. Towards the western side the highlands spread downwards

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[1] These words "also myself" and "I drew up," when read with Boenechea's and Bonacorsi's journals, fix the authorship of the present narrative on "the most Revd. missionary father Fr. Joseph Amich." *Cf.* vol. I, p. 309, and the present vol. p. 49.

[2] Less than two *miles* actually, at the narrowest point.

[3] The true length from N.W. to S.E. is thirty-two geographical miles, as the crow flies; or thirty-five from reef to reef.

[4] *Cf.* p. 52 and vol. I, pp. 12 and 326, note 1.

[5] See next page, note 2.

with quite a gentle slope; and, being densely wooded along the shore belt and in all the ravines[1], a very pleasing aspect is thus imparted to the tract of coast thereabouts. Although the island is very high it contains many stretches of low and flat land bordering the sea-shore[2], stocked with innumerable coco-nut palms, plantain-groves, and other fruit-trees.

The island is almost everywhere surrounded by reefs of rocks which, when the tide is low, expose a strip of level strand on which the ocean waves break. In some parts this girdle of reefs lies three miles off shore, in others two miles, in some one mile and even less. There are several separate passages or channels through the reef by which large ships can enter, and which form very good harbours; for within it the bottom is almost everywhere of fine black sand [having] from sixteen to twenty fathoms [water]. But it is necessary to watch your cables, because there are some few rocks, in places. There are many fairly deep waterways inside the encircling reef where thousands of craft may ply; for the sea is always very smooth there, even though there be a strong wind blowing.

There is no regularly laid out town in the island; the natives live near the sea-front in houses constructed of

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[1] The mountain masses are covered with dense forest quite to their summits, excepting a few small areas on the W. or N.W. side.

[2] The belt of fertile level land which extends from the sea-shore to the base of the mountains, around the greater part of Tahiti, forms a notable physiographic feature of the island. It is there that the natives have their dwellings, and most of their fruit-trees and food plantations. This belt varies in width from a few yards to a mile and a half. Its elevation is but ten or a dozen feet above sea level, in most parts; and it is traversed by innumerable streams and rivulets of deliciously cool and pure water from the rifts and gullies in the mountain side above. In a few places the level belt is interrupted by rocky spurs which project quite to the sea-beach and, in the southern portion of *Taiarapu* and at one or two points in *Hitiaa*, form cliffs that are washed by the ocean. These obstacles have hindered the completion of the encircling carriage road at those points; and for a distance of fifteen kilometres at the southern extremity it has been abandoned, though the engineering difficulties are not insuperable.

upright posts covered in with palm leaves, exposed ordinarily to the four winds[1]: and dotted about amidst the groves of coco-nut palms along the shore belt.

The most thickly populated localities are the District of *Papala*, the District of *Tallarabu*, and the western side where the *arii* Otu resides. Coock says *Bobala* and *Tiarrabu*[2]. The dwellers in this island are not fewer than eight thousand souls of all ages and sexes: there are ten or twelve Caciques, whom they call *Eries*[3], and each one rules over the people of his own District; but they all look up to the *arii* Otu as the higher and paramount Chief, and acknowledge themselves his subjects.

The men are generally stout and well set up; most of them are of a mulatto colour. They affect wearing the hair long; it is somewhat frizzly, and they dress it with coco-nut oil. A few of the old Chiefs possess quite venerable beards; the others commonly wear it too, albeit thin and scanty[4]. They usually go nude, concealing their privities by means of a girdle made from bark, a fold of which they pass between the thighs and secure by a turn round the waist[5], whereby they remain decent though unclothed. The adults have the loins and a portion of the thighs pigmented[6] with black in various patterns, and some of them pigment the hands and legs symmetrically on both sides: especially so the women, who, in spite of going about exposed to the weather, are remarkably fair

[1] The old style of house in Tahiti was open all round the sides and ends, except where reed or mat screens were let down, as in the case of many houses in Samoa at the present day.

[2] This short sentence is obviously an intercalation by the editor of *El Viagero Universal*. The correct names of these districts are *Papara* and *Taiarapu*. Tu's own district was *Pare*, now called *Pare-Arue*, in the North.

[3] *Arii*. See vol. I, p. 13, note 1. Bonacorsi says eight: *cf.* p. 58.

[4] In youth and middle age they practised partial epilation.

[5] The *maro*, perinæal band or breech-clout.

[6] *i.e.* tattooed.

in hue. On two occasions a couple of men quite white came on board the Frigate, with blonde hair, reddish beards and eyebrows, and blue eyes[1]: the Cacique of *Tallarabu*, where the Frigate lay at anchor, was very fair and ruddy, notwithstanding sunburn.

The women do not present so fine an appearance as the men; like them, though, they are fond of wearing a pendant in [the lobe of] one ear—which they all have pierced—and when nothing better is to hand they stick in a flower or a small fish-bone.

The inhabitants of this island are very complaisant and light of heart. Most of them can play on a sort of flute, perforated with four holes, into which they blow through one nostril while they close the other with a finger[2]. They always play a very doleful air, to the sound of which they chant in the same strain. Their dances are very fantastic, consisting of an endless variety of posturings and wagglings of the body, hands, feet, eyes, lips and tongue[3], in which they keep splendid time to the measure[4]. Some deck themselves with garlands of flowers or coronets of black feathers, on gala occasions.

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[1] Albinos are not rare. Banks saw five or six [Bibl. no. 10, p. 128].

[2] One of the best of Sidney Parkinson's drawings represents Tupaea's son Taiota wearing a *tiputa* of plaited hibiscus bast, and playing the *vivo* or nose-flute. But it fails to show the proper position of the boy's thumb, which ought to be compressing one nostril. *Cf.* Bibl. no. 84, Pl. IX: also Ellis, Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, pp. 284–5: and Banks, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

[3] *Cf.* Parkinson: pp. 24–5 and Pl. VII. "In their heivos [*heiva*] or war-dances, they assume various antic motions and gestures...and make the ephaita [*e faita*], or wry mouth, as a token of defiance... Their dances are not less singular than their music; for they twist their bodies into many extravagant postures, spread their legs, set their arms a-kimbo, and, at the same time, distort the muscles of their faces, and twist their mouths diagonally, in a manner which none of us could imitate." [Bibl. no. 84.] And *cf.* Banks's Journal, pp. 144–5 [Bibl. no. 10].

[4] Polynesians are noted for the wonderfully accurate rhythm of their gestures and the perfect time they keep in their chants, and with their clapping, and their drums.

Their weapons are short spears of hard wood: they have no other arm of defence, although they engage in wars with the people of other islands in reprisal for the raids they are wont to make on one another's produce. When in pursuit of birds they use very slender little arrows fashioned of reeds and tipped with hard-wood points; they also employ bird-lime[1].

The occupations practised by the men are fishing and husbandry. As to the former, whenever the tide is low the reefs are covered with natives collecting shellfish. There are canoes all round the coast, in great number: they are very long and narrow, because there are no trees in the island as much as a *vara* in diameter and therefore the largest canoes are only two-thirds [of a *vara*] in breadth of beam. To give them stability they fit a spar of buoyant wood parallel to the keel, some six spans apart from the hull, and joined to the canoe by means of two light poles firmly lashed across her gunwales. For their voyages, or when going outside the reef to fish, they couple two large canoes together and secure them firmly with spars lashed athwart the two hulls, leaving a space of three-quarters [of a *vara*] between them, as well for sculling in as to provide room for a large basket in which they carry their fishing implements and gear. The hooks they use are formed out of the roots of trees, and they make small ones of pearl-shell. Their fine lines are of human hair deftly plaited, and the coarser ones of the fibre of the coco-nut palm[2]: their rigging and running gear are of the same.

The Caciques and Headmen resort to these double canoes as dwelling apartments, for they rig a platform across the two fore bodies, more than two *varas* wide

[1] The balsam or gum of *Metrosideros villosa* (Sm.).

[2] *i.e.* of the fibrous pericarp or husk of the nut itself. But their best fishing lines were made of the fibres of a nettle called *roa*—*Pipturus argenteus* (Wedd.). *Hibiscus* bast and the bark of *Ficus tinctoria* (Forst.) supplied others.

and three in length, and over this they construct a very well roofed cuddy [or coach], so that even if it rain heavily the water does not leak through. They sleep in these cuddies even when on shore, for it would seem that they build their houses or arbours to act as shelters for the canoes rather than for their own personal comfort. Some canoes carry a sail of fine matting, measuring as much as seven *varas* in the hoist by two and a half in spread, and set fore-and-aft fashion. These sailing canoes are rendered safe by means of a long pole or spar that they fix athwart the hull abreast of the mast heel, and at the ends of this they belay two ropes that do duty as shrouds, while two others are made fast at the head and stern of the canoe to serve as stays. When the wind is a bit fresh an Indian stations himself at the weather extremity of this 'thwartship spar and acts by his own weight as a counterpoise against the pressure of the wind on the sail. All the canoes are very light because they are so slender: their bows are fashioned in the shape of a dolphin's head. The logs out of which they are cut being of small size, they raise on them at the sides with planks so nicely fitted that they look, not like the work of Indians unpossessed of any iron tools, but, rather, like that of highly skilled joiners. They do the same forward and aft. The tools with which they build their canoes are a sort of adze made of little fillets of black stone, very hard, but easy to whet with other stones; and they fit them so perfectly to their hafts of stick that they look just like the tools of a skilled wright. These canoes have no nails whatever, the joins where the gunwale planks are added being laced with sennit made of palm fibre and caulked with the oakum of coco-nut husks: the seams are then payed with stuff like bird-lime that they get from the resin[1] of a certain tree[2].

[1] The gum-resin of the breadfruit usually.

[2] The resemblance between this account of canoes and adzes and

The women occupy themselves with plaiting mats out of very fine [strips of] palm leaf, and smocks of the same, and in preparing from the bark of certain trees[1] a kind of white cloth or stuff as delicate as linen or thin taffeta. Some of these pieces of cloth are four *varas* in width and from eight to ten *varas* long. Some are stained yellow, and bright red, in remarkably quaint designs, with dyes extracted from certain roots, herbs, and small fruits[2]. They are accustomed to wrap lengths of this cloth about the body, or round the head after the manner of a turban. Some have a dark brown tinge[3], and are the sort that usually serve them for bed screens. Others of them, doubled four or five ply thick and stuck together with some glutinous matter are used as bed coverlets. They brought off stuffs, and wraps, and mats of all these kinds to the Frigate to truck for small knives and other iron knick-knacks; and they also brought quantities of plantains, coco-nuts, and other things on board with the same object.

The diet on which these Islanders customarily support themselves consists of plantains, coco-nuts, fish, and a mash composed of yams, plantains and other fruits pounded very thoroughly together. Of this medley, when some herbs have been added, they form dumplings six or eight inches in diameter, which they cook by the following method. They make a big bonfire in a pit wherein they set a lot of stones; whilst these are getting heated they do up the paste dumplings and everything else that they want to cook, in a quantity of large leaves, and afterwards pack them

that given by Lieut. Cook on the same subject is striking. *Cf.* the latter's "Description of King George's Island—Manners and Customs" in his *Journal* [Bibl. no. 30].

[1] The paper mulberry chiefly, *Broussonetia papyrifera* (Vent.).

[2] *Morinda citrifolia* (Linn.), *Cordia subcordata* (Lamk.)—a tree, not a herb, *Ficus tinctoria* (Forst.), and several others.

[3] Made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and *Ficus prolixa* (Forst.). See vol. I, p. 332, with notes 1 to 7; and p. 333, note 1.

into small frails of palm-leaf. As soon as the stones are thoroughly hot they are raked aside from the pit, and they lay the baskets in on the top of the embers; and over these the hot stones [are spread again]. Lastly, they cover in the whole with earth in such wise that no air hole is left anywhere[1]. Next day they open it all up, and have thus enough food ready to last them for quite a many days.

A round fruit six inches in diameter which they call *Euru*[2] serves them for bread: they cook this in the same way, and it eats like an insipid potato. There are also in the island a sort of very tasty chestnut[3], and others after the style of very oily walnuts[4]. There is also a breed of small pigs, and there are some fowls. The palms produce a very rich cabbage[5]; but the natives only eat it raw because they have no vessels in which to dress their victuals. Fish, they eat raw[6] or broiled, or cooked in the way above related: and they do not waste any portion of it, for they consume the guts, gills, and scraps with much heartiness. The island produces no salt whatever, nor do the natives care to eat anything salted or savoury unless driven to it by necessity[7].

[1] The above is quite a good description of the ordinary *umu* or oven still in use throughout Polynesia at the present day.

[2] *Uru* is the breadfruit (*Artocarpus incisa*, Linn.) of several varieties. It is now more often called *maiore*, in the Tahitian group of islands.

[3] *Ihi* is the fruit of the *mape* or *rata* tree, the Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis* (Forst.).

[4] *Tutui*, the candle-nut, *Aleurites triloba* (Forst.).

[5] *Palmito* might here be translated either 'cabbage' or 'salad.' It consists of the unexpanded central leaf-bud of the palm, and provides a very delicious vegetable when cut up and dressed (not cooked), but natives do not seem to set much store by it.

[6] Raw mullet is still a highly popular dish in Tahiti and many other Pacific islands. Even some Europeans residing there learn to like it—or to eat it and say they do, as I have both seen and heard more than once.

[7] On the contrary, sea-water forms the basis of one or two fluid condiments or relishes in everyday use (*miti*, *miti haari*, *miti hue*).

We did not observe, in these islanders, any proneness to intoxication[1]: their besetting vice is lasciviousness. They marry no more than one wife [at a time]; and it would seem that they are nothing jealous, for they make offer of their women to strangers. No noxious or venomous animals were seen in the island, but a vast multitude of very tame rats, which trouble them a good deal and oblige them to devise means[2] for protecting their eatables against the voracity of these little animals. Although the temperature is hot and humid, neither mosquitos, bats, nor cockroaches[3] breed there. Smart rain-showers occur on most days, followed by calm; and then the breeze sets in from seaward[4].

We could not be sure whether they have any religion; they certainly had no house of worship, though they appear to observe some sort of idolatry, for they carry certain rudely carved wooden figures on their canoes which represent human forms; but they in no wise worship them, nor do they resent their being scoffed at by strangers. Their cemeteries are constructed after the manner of small rectangular platforms faced all round with two or three high steps built in with stone. They are ornamented with a number of large wooden effigies—for the most part figures of an obscene character. We learned later (from

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[1] They had no fermented drinks, and the use of *ava* (*Piper methysticum*, Forst.) which, though toxic, is non-alcoholic, was restricted to Chiefs. It will be seen from other passages in these volumes that Vehiatua indulged freely, at times; but it is true that the wine on board the frigate did not appeal to them. It was otherwise with Tu, however, at a later date; and not Tu alone.

[2] The Tahitian rat-proof meat-safe is elsewhere described: *cf.* Boenechea's Journal [vol. I, p. 337].

[3] This is not true of Tahiti now, alas! nor was it as regards mosquitos then. *Cf.* Rodriguez' Journal: Banks's, &c. Presumably there were also one or more species of fruit bats then as now; but cockroaches were a later introduction.

[4] The frigate's visit occurred in the hot, which is also the rainy, season.

the Indians we brought away from the isle of *Otaheti*) that the males observe circumcision when they wish to marry[1], and that they have special Priests charged with the performance of this rite.

We were not able to gain positive knowledge as to whether any foreign ships had been at the island; for no vestiges of [European] wares or implements, which they would naturally have left there, were met with. We only came across an old English axe and the blade of a French knife, of the commonest quality, and one very old oddment of coarse serge; but we gathered that some ships had reached the island, because the natives were acquainted with the preparations and handling [of a vessel] when coming to an anchor, as well as with the effects of cannon and muskets.

We lay here thirty-one days in Port *Aguila*, during which time a spare tiller was made for the rudder out of a tough wood after the fashion of guaiacum. A mizen-topmast and a main-topsail yard were also made. Five launch-loads of ballast were taken in, our water was refilled, and our stock of fire-wood replenished. These two articles exist in abundance throughout the island. On most days during our stay in the harbour a great many canoes came alongside, from this and other islands, with numbers of Indians of all ages and sexes[2] who brought their cloth, mats, and other curiosities for barter (as well as plantains and coco-nuts) in exchange for knives, looking-glasses, scissors, nails, shirts, and other odds and ends. The Captain of the ship showed them much friendly attention. They came in such numbers that the cabin was constantly

[1] It was a question of age and initiation to manhood, not marriage, that determined the practice.

[2] The expression 'all ages and sexes' occurs repeatedly in these narratives; and no apology seems necessary for rendering it word for word instead of adding the word 'both' before 'sexes.'

thronged with them, and there were days when the Captain and officers were fain to retire below and take their meals in the powder-room, so as to leave the cabin free to the Indians.

After we had waited several days for favourable weather we sailed from Port Magdalena, or *Aguila*[1], on the 20th of December of the same year 1772, with the wind from N.N.E., rather fresh; and on getting a clear league off the land we hove to to await the launch, which had stayed behind in the harbour to recover the kedge that had served us as a holdfast to get under way from. By the time she had come up, and the boats were hoisted in, it was already nightfall; and we proceeded, coasting along the southern side of the island.

We took [with us] four Indians from Amat's Island; the two bigger ones aged about thirty years; another, a lump of a lad of eighteen years, who came by his own wish; and a boy of thirteen years with his father's consent When they became able to make themselves understood, they gave us several of the pieces of information I have set forth in the description.

As we had heard (though in a vague way) of the many islands that exist in this Ocean, we hove to every night until reaching the latitude of 26° South; and after that we held on our course, experiencing variable weather, without misadventure of any kind. And on the 21st of February 1773, after sighting the Chilean coast about midday, we came to an anchor in the port of Valparaiso at six o'clock in the evening.

We laid in three months' provisions at this port, and a corresponding supply of wood and water. The sick were got on shore, where two of them died of malignant

[1] Miscalled "Langara's Harbour" on the chart of Tahiti in the published narrative of the *Duff's* voyage [Bibl. no. 96, p. 185] and so copied in several later works.

calentures. One of the Indians of Amat's Island likewise died at this place, from indigestion on which malignant calenture supervened.

After waiting some days for favourable weather we sailed from the port of Valparaiso, at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 2nd of April in the same year 1773, in order to carry out the second part of our commission as directed by the Viceroy—that is, the examination in detail of Davis's or *San Carlos* Island. We put to sea with the wind at W., hauling into the S.W. and S. after we cleared the Bay; and we steered N.W., to reach the latitude of the said island.

On the 7th of the same month, at daybreak, one of the isles of *San Felix* was in sight away to the nor'ard, distant a matter of eight leagues: it is small but very high. According to the reckoning I worked out this island lies in lat. 26° 33′ South, and in long. 295° 20′ from the meridian of Tenerife; and bears N.W. 5° W., 203 leagues distant, from the port of Valparaiso.

On the 15th of the same month, at daybreak, a vessel was seen to the N.W. of us making a southerly course; and after heading towards her we spoke her, and she proved to be the merchant ship *Valvaneda* bound for Valparaiso, having sailed from El Callao on the 29th of March last past.

After meeting with variable winds and being buffeted almost all the time by a swell from the S.W., we found on the 22nd of April (the wind having hung in the N. for the six preceding days, blowing strong at times) that the Frigate was making a considerable deal of water—a thing we had not experienced before in all the voyage; and, when the vessel's hold had been explored as far as was practicable, no indication was found to show whereabouts the leak might be supposed to exist. On the morning of the 23rd the Captain discussed the Frigate's condition with

the combatant officers, and the carpenters and caulkers were called in to the consultation. The result of it was that it was decided to bear up for El Callao, where the Viceroy could arrange for the examination to be undertaken at a more opportune time. For, seeing there is no shelter whatever at the isle of *San Carlos* from northerly winds, such as we had found to prevail in its neighbourhood with so much constancy (we reckoned ourselves then to be 188 leagues to the E. ¼ S.E. of the island), it was our duty to give heed to the advance of winter, when we should be running great risk of disaster from the bad and wholly insecure anchorage at that place. We accordingly bore up and steered to the E. to fall in with the mainland.

We sailed on with variable winds and weather, and at sunrise on the 28th of May the highlands of Atico were in sight. We continued our course for the port of El Callao, where we came to an anchor on the 31st of May, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

[*End of the First Voyage.*]

17671 k

Croquis del Reconocimiento que Hizo el Subtte. Ayudante de Ingenieros, Dn. Antonio de Estrimiana: de Orden del Exmo. Señor: Dn. Manuel de Amat y Junient. Cte. del Orn. de Sn. Juan, Gentil Hombre de Camara de S. M. Teniente General de sus Reales Exes. Govor. y Capn. Genl. de estos Reynos &a. &a.

Lima y Mayo 31. de 1771.

Reproduced by Donald Macbeth

THE PORT AND VICINITY OF EL CALLAO.

(From a water-colour drawing in the British Museum

JOURNALS AND DESPATCHES

(with Enclosures)

TELLING OF THE *AGUILA'S* SECOND VOYAGE

TO TAHITI,

WITH THE STORE-SHIP *JUPITER* UNDER CONVOY;

FOLLOWED BY

THE MISSIONARY FRIARS' DIARY OF EVENTS,

SHEWING HOW THEY FARED THERE AFTERWARDS:

1774–5.

DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 1016.

Most Excellent Señor,

Gives an account of the two vessels he has despatched from the port of El Callao, bound for the Islands newly discovered, and conveying Clerics furnished with the outfit specified on the accompanying invoice, in pursuance of the Royal Commands he cites.

In pursuance of the two Royal Commands of the 26th of October, 1773[1], I arranged for the despatch of His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila* from the port of El Callao, under the command of Captain Don Domingo de Boenechea and navigated by the pilot Don Juan de Ervè[2], bound for the Island of *Otaheyte* and others lately discovered. They carried with them, besides the usual complement of marines, two Franciscan friars of the Ocopa Missions[3], furnished

[1] See vol. I, p. 346.

[2] Ervè is the same, of course, as Hervé: the *h* in Spanish is not aspirated. The accent like all in these MSS., was written grave—a form now never employed. He is here styled *el piloto practico.*

[3] The missionary college of Santa Rosa at Sta Maria de Ocopa was founded by D^{n} Francisco de San José, a Franciscan of Burgos who went to Mexico as a missionary in 1694, and passed from thence, in 1708, to Lima. Having gained a wide experience during his life and work amongst native races, he memorialised the King (Don Felipe V) in 1718 on the subject of establishing a college for the purpose of affording special and suitable training to candidates for missionary service. In reply he obtained a very favourable decree, in consequence of which, and with the approval of the Viceroy, he proceeded notwithstanding his advanced age with the necessary buildings at Ocopa, situated in the rugged and romantic vale of the upper Jauja, amidst the mountains to the northward of Lima, between the eastern and western chains of the Cordillera, where the great Marañon river takes its rise, to afterwards join the Ucayali and other streams and merge into the Amazon. He succeeded in founding the college in 1724, and it was dedicated to Santa Rosa, the virgin patron saint of Lima and all Peru. Fr. Francisco died twelve years later, too soon to see

with supplies as shown in the accompanying invoice[1], and with the necessary Instructions in regard to what is expected of them in obedience to the Royal will as signified in the Commands above cited. She also received on board the two surviving Indians of the four who came up in her: these go back well informed and instructed, and grateful for the good treatment meted out to them. From the indications they have given by their conduct, and the manner in which they bore themselves here, there should be good reason to expect that these neophytes will prove of much assistance to the missionaries, not only by guiding them to a knowledge of the language now that they have themselves gained a moderate insight into Spanish, but also in regard to other kindred matters in which they have given sufficient evidence and proofs of a fair competence.

I also sent out with the Frigate a small bark[2] which I had to charter from among the oversea traders, as it was considered indispensably necessary for conducting with

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his undertaking launched in the full success that later on rewarded its beginnings; but in 1758 Pope Clement XIII gave to it the status of a *Colegio de Propaganda Fide.*

About the time of the *Aguila's* expeditions to Tahiti the *Guardián* (abbot or principal) of the college was a certain *Padre Fr.* Pedro González de Agüeros, a member of the Franciscan Order of Old Castile, who subsequently returned to Madrid and became Commissary there for his Order in Peru. He published, in 1791, a volume [Bibl. no. 48] containing a historical description of Chiloé, and a garbled account of the *Aguila's* second mission in which Gayangos and Andía y Varela are confused the one with the other, and so are their journals. Some particulars about the book are given in vol. 1 of the present work, Introduction, pp. xxxvi–vii.

Accounts of the labours and sufferings of some of the Ocopa friars were written by Fr. José Amich [Bibl. no. 3] who sailed in the *Aguila*, but were not printed until 1854; and by Fr. Manuel Sobreviela, a cleric of great worth, who was *Guardián* of the college about 1788.

[1] See the enclosure. The word here rendered "invoice" is *empaque*, for which there appears to be no exact equivalent in English. It suggests either 'pack,' 'equipment,' 'consignment,' 'inventory' or 'list.' But "invoice" (properly *factura* in Spanish) seems to fit the document here in question quite as well as 'inventory,' which has its literal synonym in *inventario.*

[2] *Pequeño barco*—the *Júpiter.* For the journal of her master and owner, Don José de Andía y Varela, see a later page in this volume.

safety the examination and survey of harbours where soundings could not be taken by larger ships without obvious risk, such as that to which the above-named Frigate was exposed on the previous voyage. Both vessels go well manned[1] and equipped, and provided with everything necessary for bringing the voyage to a successful issue within a short time, of which I have the greater hopes by virtue of the practical knowledge possessed by the officers and a large portion of the crew to whom the expedition has been entrusted; concerning the results of all of which I will submit advices in due course.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency for many years. Lima: 22nd of September, 1774.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful, and faithful Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Exc^{t} S^{or} B^{o} Fr. D^{n} Julian de Arriaga.

Enclosure.

GENERAL INVOICE of all the Utensils, provisions, and other outfit supplied through the Department of Temporalities of the Jesuits, in pursuance of a decree issued by the Executive on the 5th of July of the present year, for the maintenance of the clerics Fr. Geronimo Clota and Fr. Narciso Gonzalez, Apostolic missionary priests of the *Propaganda Fide*, from the college of Sta Rosa de Ocopa, and for the use of the marine acting as Interpreter, and the two natives of the Island of AMAT (alias *Otaheti*), for the period of one year; besides what relates to the portable altar, vestments &c.: showing the contents of each

[1] *Armados*—which may signify either manned, armed, or fitted out.

package separately opposite the marks and numbers [quoted] in the margin.....To Wit—

℞
M

Rice	No. 1 ... 1	Cask of rice,	with	7 @[1]	9 *lbs.*	making
	2 ... 1	do.	*id.*	7	9	14 @ 18 *lbs.*
Beans	3 ... 1	do.	*cocacho* beans[2] ,,	7 @	13 *lbs.*	*id.*
	4 ... 1	do.	*id.*	7	15	
	5 ... 1	do.	*id.*	6	17	21 @ 20 *lbs.*
Chick peas	6 ... 1	do.	chick peas, with	7 @	21 *lbs.*	*id.*
	7 ... 1	do.	*id.*	7	12	
	8 ... 1	do.	*id.*	4	8	19 @ 16 *lbs.*
Lentils	9 ... 1	do.	lentils, with	7 @	9 *lbs.*	*id.*
	10 ... 1	do.	*id.*	7	9	14 @ 18 *lbs.*
Quinua	11 ... 1	do.	*Quinua*[3], with	6 @	9 *lbs.*	*id.*
	12 ... 1	do.	*id.*	6	17	
	Additional, enclosed in no. 8			3	8	16 @ 9 *lbs.*
Pallares	13 ... 1	do.	of *Pallares*[4] with	7 @	2 *lbs.*	*id.*
	14 ... 1	do.	*id.*	7		
	15 ... 1	do	*id*	6	21	20 @ 23 *lbs.*
	16 ... 1	Barrel of cabin biscuit		5 @		
	17 ... 1	do.	*id.*	5		
	18 ... 1	do.	*id.*	4	24	
	19 ... 1	do.	*id.*	4	21	
	20 ... 1	do.	*id.*	2	21	
	21 ... 1	do.	*id.*	2	23	48 @ 20 *lbs.*
	22 ... 1	do.	*id.*	2	24	making
	23 ... 1	do.	*id.*	3	25	12 *quintals*[5]
	24 ... 1	do.	*id.*	2	21	and 20 *lbs.*
	25 ... 1	do.	*id.*	2	21	
	26 ... 1	do.	*id.*	2	12	
	27 ... 1	do.	*id.*	3		
	28 ... 1	do.	*id.*	3		
	29 ... 1	do.	*id.*	3	1	

[1] @ stands for *arrobas*: the *arroba* contained 25 Spanish *libras*.

[2] *Cocacho* beans are a black sort of French bean, very hard if insufficiently boiled.

[3] *Quinua* or *quinoa* (*Chenopodium quinua*, Linn.) is a cereal cultivated at great elevations in the Andes. The grain is somewhat lentil shaped, and very white, reminding one of rice, but smaller. Boiled like rice it forms a pleasant but somewhat insipid nourishment. The farinaceous endosperm is ground into flour. *Vide* Cièza de Leon, Lasso, Velasco, Ulloa, Frezier, Markham and others.

[4] A kind of French bean (*Phaseolus pallar*) grown in Peru. Like *quinua*, the word is of Quechuan origin. Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. xix) mentions "pulses, which the Indians use such as those they call Frisoles and Pallares, which serve them as our lentils, beanes, or tares."

[5] A *quintal* contained four *arrobas*, equal to about 46 kilograms.

No. 30 ... 1 Barrel of hard biscuit 7 @ 2 *lbs.*
31 ... 1 do. *id.* 8 2
32 ... 1 do. *id.* 6 10
33 ... 1 do. *id.* 9 11
34 ... 1 do. *id.* 4 13
} 35 @ 13 *lbs.* making 8 *qq.* 88 *lbs.*

Wheaten flour 35 ... 1 Barrel of wheaten flour for wafers, with 4 @ 8 *lbs.*

Sugar { 36 ... 1 do. of / 37 ... 1 do. of } sugar, with 8 @.

Shelled maize { 38 ... 1 do. of shelled maize, with 4 @.
39 ... 1 do. *id.* 4 16 *lbs.*
40 ... 1 do. *id.* 3 12
41 ... 1 do. *id.* 4
} 16 @ 3 *lbs.* making 3 *fanegas*[1]

Maize flour { 42 ... 1 do. of maize flour, with 7 @ 23 *lbs.*
43 ... 1 do. *id.* 4 2
} 12 @ making 2 *fanegas*

Chocolate { 44 ... 1 Case of chocolate, with 3 @ 5
Capsicums { 45 ... 1 Sack of capsicums, with 5
} making 2 *fanegas*

Axes, cutlasses and lead { 46 ... 1 Case containing the following :—to wit,
10 Woodman's axes
4 Cutlasses[2], sharpened
3 @ 16 *lbs.* of lead.

Sieves and sickles 47 ... 1 Case cont^g 3 sieves and 6 sickles.

Medicines 48 ... 1 Chest of medicines.

Sherbets 49 ... 1 do. of sherbets.

Tallow dips { 50 ... 1 Box / 51 ... 1 do. } of tallow dips.

52 ... 1 Case cont^g the following :—to wit,

25 *lbs.* of wax candles
1 small bag of 4 *lbs* of pepper
2 large *lignum vitae* spoons
2 small do.
2 iron snuffers
1 bundle of talc panels
1 lantern of tin-plate, with small glass panels
3 augurs of medium size
3 *id.* smaller
2 gimlets
2 tin platelets for wine-vessels
2 large paring chisels
4 small *id.*
8 gouges, assorted sizes, making a set
1 mortice chisel
2 planes
1 iron ladle or skimmer
1 wafer-box, of tin plate

53 ... 1 Box of 4 @ of soap.

54 ... 1 do. cont^g the following :—to wit,

2 small hoes
3 iron pots with copper lids
18 small tin plates
1 tin basin
2 small copper kettles
1 wafer-iron
6 tin mugs
4 *id.* of earthenware
2 bronze candlesticks
2 medium-sized copper stew-pans, tinned
2 tin funnels
2 gridirons
2 frying-pans, tinned, with handles

[1] A *fanega* of grain was equal to 55·5 litres. There was another *fanega*, a measure of land, which varied in different Provinces.

[2] *Machetes*: either cutlasses or long plantation knives.

1 copper pan
1 *id.* pipkin
2 wooden bowls
2 small boxes of thread
1 pestle and mortar all of bronze
1 copper pipkin, not tinned
1 small kettle, not tinned
1 *id.* very small, tinned

No. 55 ... 1 Case cont^{g} the following :—

2 ammunition pouches, stocked
2 large frying-pans, with lip, tinned
1 small do. , tinned
4 hatchets
3 tin dishes
3 *id.* very small

56 ... 1 Jar of oil for table use, with 12½ *lbs.*
57 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
58 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
59 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
60 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
61 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
62 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
63 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
64 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
65 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
66 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
67 ... 1 do. *id.* 12½
} 12 jars with 150 *lbs.*

68 ...
69 ...
70 ...
71 ... } 4 Jars of honey

78 ...
79 ... } 2 do. of brandy

72 ...
73 ...
74 ...
75 ...
76 ...
77 ... } 6 jars of wine

80 ... 1 do. of vinegar

81 ... 1 rough case of 300 rockets

82 ... 1 Case with a whetstone : and the following :—
1 small bell
4 doz. German knives, narrow blades
2 doz. scissors, and 4 girdles
2000 sail needles

83
84
85
86 ... 4 Barrels cont^{g} 4 *fanegas* of wheat

87
88 ... 2 Barrels with 211 *lbs.* of hog's lard

89
90 ... 2 do. with 14 @ 15 *lbs.* of bacon

Salt...8 blocks of salt

91
92 ... 2 large chests the Missionaries take cont^{g} the following :—

For the Chapel: 1 new missal : 1 manual, in Latin : 2 manuals for Indians, with canon, gospel, and *Lavabo* : 2 pairs of crystal wine-vessels : 2 crystal goblets : 1 altar bell : 1 feather plume : 2 vestry towels : 1 tongs for holding wafers : 1 small packet of *Tallado*[1] : 1 Nebrija's vocabulary[2] : 3 blank MS. books : 1 gross of rosaries : ½ gross medallions : ½ gross of crosses : 2 sunshades : 1 small box with 3 phials of holy oils and chrism : 1 hand crucifix : gauze, for baptism

[1] Wafers, ready cut. One copy has *tellado.*

[2] A well-known Latin and Spanish dictionary [Bibl. no. 79].

For the missionary *Padres*:

2 cassocks
2 hoods
2 tunics
2 cloaks
2 waist cords
6 drawers [pairs of]
6 prs. of sandals
6 pocket-handkerchiefs
2 mattresses
4 flannel sheets
2 pillows
4 pillow-cases
2 hand towels
2 bed curtains
2 coverlets, cotton
2 prayer desks
1 kit bag
1 shaving case and basin
6 lbs. of snuff
50 lbs. of tobacco in leaf
1 ink horn, and ink in powder
1 quill-pen knife
1 ream of paper
2 tin-plate chamber-pots
2 sets of table cutlery in 2 cases
1 telescope
1 mariner's compass

For the Refectory:

2 crystal salt cellars
1 oil and vinegar cruet
6 earthenware cups
4 do. jugs
3 table-cloths
8 serviettes
4 hand towels
8 ounces of cinnamon
2 do. of cloves
4 do. of allspice
1 bundle of matches
2 copper saucepans

For the Infirmary:

4 shirts
4 sheets
4 yards of linen for bandages

1 hand-mill for grinding grain
2 small claw-hammers
2 medium saws
1 hand-saw
4 augurs
1 jack-plane
1 smoothing plane
1 jointer and irons
1 rebate plane and irons
2 yards of white flannel for straining wine
3 skins of black cordovan[1]
2 do. of sole leather
awls[2], and *pita*[3] yarn

No. 93 ... 1 Chest cont^{g} 18 glass flasks with 60 *lbs.* of fine gunpowder.

No. 94 ... 1 Case of nails: and 6 @ of battens, quartering, scantling, boards, and rafters. 1 bar of iron, of 20 *lbs.*

Clock ... 1 time-piece for the table, with its bell.

Item ... 1 large wooden Cross, of 3½ *varas*: with this inscription—

CHRISTUS VINZIT[4]: CARLUS III IMPERIT: 1774.

In the MEDICINE CHEST, *no.* 48, *the missionary Padres take with them the following medicines.*

[Here follows, in the MS., a list of seventy-five drugs, chemicals and preparations, in quantities from 2 oz. to 8 oz. each, including among the rest four sorts of Syrups, five Oils, five Balsams, eight Ointments, and twelve Plasters: with the following Sundries—1 syringe, 1 iron spatula, 1 set of scales and weights, 25 small glass phials, 20 gallipots, 1 mortar, 1 pill or ointment slab, 1 copper pipkin, 1 large and 1 small kettle, 1 lb. of tea, and 1 lb. of lint.—ED.]

[1] Leather of tanned goat-skin.
[2] Number not quoted.
[3] Fibre of *Agave americana.*
[4] VENCIT in one copy.

In the MEDICINE CHEST, *no.* 49, *they take the following sherbets.*

2	bottles	of	Sherbet of	*agraz* with 13 *lbs.*
2	do.	of	„	cherries with 13 *lbs.*
2	do.	of	„	lemon with 13 *lbs.*
2	do.	of	„	pomegranate with 13 *lbs.*
4	do.	of	„	lemon juice with 26 *lbs.*

Oratory, or Portable Altar,

comprising, to wit :—

1 Portable altar in the form of a chest with its hinges, hasps, lock, key, and handles ; measuring, when opened out as intended, $2\frac{1}{3}$ *varas* in width, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in height, with corresponding table-top of $2\frac{2}{3}$ *varas*, for mass ; draped with crimson satin picked out with dark violet flowers.

1 Picture of Our Lady of Monserrate, painted in oils, on canvas.

2 Bronze laminae of the Apostles St James and St Anthony, in gilt frames, glazed.

1 Crucifix ; the figure in bronze on an ebony cross and pedestal, with clamps likewise of bronze.

1 Silver chalice and paten, gilt inside and out.

1 new missal, with [pictures of] saints of the Seraphic Order.

1 Super-Altar stone, cased in linen cerecloth.

1 Brass sacring bell.

2 Eight-branched candlesticks of the same.

2 Pairs of glass wine-vessels, with tin trays to stand on.

1 Silver ciborium, gilt inside, with cover, for forming, and conveying the Viaticum.

1 Cedar-wood altar-desk, for missal.

3 Silver ampullae for holy oils and chrism, new, three pieces in a small box.

1 Altar frontal in crimson and white Persienne with fringe of yellow silk.

Vestments and white Linen.

1 Choir cope of plain blue satin, lined with silk of the same colour, used.

1 Chasuble of violet Persienne with variegated flowers, lined with pale crimson taffeta, in good condition, with fringe of common quality gold, and stole, girdle, amice, veil for chalice, and corporals-burse.

1 new do. of black flowered silk.

1 do. white, reversible, with imitation gold fringe.

1 do. crimson flowered silk, with silver fringe, new.

1 do. green, with gold fringe : and all of them with their corresponding habiliments.

1 Alb of fine linen, with lace trimmings, in good condition, used already.
1 do. of the same, new, with wide lace.
2 Altar cloths, of fine linen, new; one with lace edging and the other with lace insertion.
1 Linen surplice, new.
4 Amices, new, of the same.
6 Corporals, of plain lawn.
12 Purificators, in good condition, used.
6 Side altar-cloths.
4 White linen napkins.
3 Stuff do.
1 Veil for placing over the Host, of lead covered with fine linen.
1 Blank MS. book for a missal for the burial service.
4 White cotton girdles, braided.

Lima, Septr 17, 1774.

Christobal Franz^{co} Rodrîz.

We have received a true and exact copy of the foregoing General Invoice by which to check the contents of the several packages referred to, when we arrive at our destination, they being at this present date on board THE KING'S frigate the Aguila in the care of D^{n} Domingo Bonechea, her Captain Commandant, who has been furnished with another similar copy for his own use and reference. Lima: 17th Septr 1774.

Fr. Jeronimo Clota *Fr. Narciso Gonzalez.*

The above is a true and exact copy of the two originals prepared when the frigate *Aguila* was about to sail for her destination: it is the same in all respects as the one delivered to the missionary *Padres* and the Captain Commandant for their guidance.

Department of Temporalities: Lima, 27 October 1774.

Christobal Franz^{co} Rodrîz.

DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 1121.

Most Excellent Señor,

Announcing the return of H.M.'s Frigate the *Aguila*, which had been despatched for the exploration and succour of *Otaheti* and other islands recently discovered: and advising the consignment of a box of Plans, Journals, and samples of products peculiar to the said island.

His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila* has just dropped anchor in the harbour of El Callao, from which she had sailed bound for the Island of *Otahcti* and others newly discovered, as related in my despatches no. 1016[1] of the 22nd of September 1774, and no. 1068[2] of the 9th of January of the present year.

The licensed regular trader *Hercules* being on the point of sailing, I am left no time in which to make myself acquainted with the particulars of the *Aguila's* expedition, nor with any further intelligence I would fain have communicated in detail for Your Excellency's and His Majesty's information; and therefore, in order neither to postpone the transmission of the Journals and Maps nor to delay the ship, I confine myself to forwarding the box containing them together with the specimens and industrial manufactures from those islands, exactly as I have received them[3].

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[1] See p. 92.

[2] See p. 1.

[3] This passage accounts for Gayangos' journal not figuring as an

Don Domingo Bonechea having succumbed at the above-named island, on the 26th of January of this year, Don Thomas Gayangos thereupon assumed command of the said Frigate.

I shall take care to acquaint Your Excellency with what progress may be made in the future from the accounts I shall get from the officers, and from two more Islanders who, of their own free will, came up in the Frigate; and will give you full advice thereof by the first favourable opportunity[1].

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years. Lima: 10th of April, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful and obedient Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Exc^{t} S^{or} B^{o} Fr. Don Juan de Arriaga.

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enclosure with the despatch. The journal is, in point of fact, docketed "*Remitido sin carta*"—forwarded without [covering] letter.

A quantity of Tahitian cloth and some other articles of native use and workmanship, now in the ethnological section of the *Museo Nacional* at Madrid, appear to be a part of this very consignment.

As this despatch was signed three days before the *Jupiter* reached El Callao it contains no mention of Andía y Varela's journal.

[1] His Excellency, who was doubtless pre-occupied with many weighty matters, and affairs of State, owing to his approaching retirement from office, never fulfilled this promise: which is much to be regretted. Don Manuel's statement which occurs in his Recital (vol. I, p. 14) to the effect that he did so report must therefore be held to relate to the above brief announcement, no. 1121; for certainly no later despatch from him on this subject has come to light, after repeated search, nor is there any entry of one in his official Index of Despatches

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL

OF

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF THE FRIGATE *AGUILA*

FROM EL CALLAO TO TAHITI
AND THE ISLANDS NEAR-BY,
AND BACK TO EL CALLAO:

1774–5.

Signed by Lieut.-Commander Don Thomas Gayangos.

SUBDIVISIONS OF THIS JOURNAL.

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[The MS. of this journal from which the present translation has been made is the original one, bearing Gayangos' autograph signature and rubric, sent home by the Viceroy as stated in his despatch no. 1121. It is preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias* at Sevilla, in *Est.* 112—*Caj.* 4—*Leg.* 11, with other documents relating to the expeditions conducted in the same frigate, and in the *San Lorenzo* with the *Santa Rosalía* [Bibl. no. MSS. 3]. It is closely, but neatly and legibly written on the usual hand-made water-marked paper of the period; and comprises thirty folios in all, fscp. size, including on one leaf the original Declaration of Allegiance or Deed of Convention written and signed by the *Contador*, Don Pedro Freyre de Andrade, and three blank leaves.

In 1778 a copy of the complete document was made at Madrid (from the original) by order of Don Josef de Galvez, who had succeeded Don Julian de Arriaga as Secretary of State for the Indies on the death of the latter early in 1776. This copy was officially attested on the 12th of March in the year above mentioned, by Don Manuel Josef de Ayala; and is now in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. D 91, ff. 376-444 at Madrid [Bibl. no. MSS. 14].—ED.]

JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE

made, by Order of *HIS MAJESTY* communicated through the Most Excellent Señor Don MANUEL DE AMAT Y JUNIENT, Knight of the Royal Order of Saint Januarius, and of that of Saint John, Viceroy, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of the Realms of Peru and Chile, by Captain Don DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA commanding the Frigate *Santa Maria Magdalena* (alias *Aguila*) and the Storeship *Jupiter* to the Island of AMAT and those lying near-by: for the purpose of restoring to their own country the two natives Pautu and Tetuanui, furnished with an assortment of tools, and of conveying two missionary *Padres* of the Seraphic Order to make a beginning of preaching the Holy Gospel, together with a wooden house for their homestead, cattle and seeds of various kinds, and numerous implements suitable for agriculture:—submitted by Senior Lieutenant Don THOMAS GAYANGOS, appointed to the same Frigate.

WE SAILED from the port of El Callao on the afternoon of the 20th of September, 1774, with a favourable wind, the storeship being in company with us, and steered W. ¼ S.W.[1] so as to be ware of the *Hormigas* bank; and at 6 in the morning of the following day we bore away on our course.

[1] Equivalent to W. by S. as we express it. For remarks on the Spanish method of boxing the compass the reader may consult the Introduction (vol. I, p. lxiii).

On the 25th the commander of the storeship was signalled to repair on board of us; and, his vessel proving such a slow sailer that it was evident the commission would suffer delay through her, he was directed to adopt the best means he could for reducing his crew's rations in such wise that they should serve for seven months or longer, in place of only six. We in the Frigate conformed to the same arrangement.

During the night of the 5th of October we lost sight of the storeship, in spite of having shortened sail as much as was practicable; for there was no doubt that what prevented her from keeping up with us was the roughness of the sea, and the fresh breeze blowing from the S. and E.S.E.[1] Finding that she did not again come within sight, we proceeded under easy canvas until the 8th, when it became necessary to alter our course somewhat in order to keep to the prescribed track, and we accordingly made all sail and steered for the Island of *Todos Santos*[2].

On the 16th of the same two small birds, apparently land birds, were seen; and one of them was caught, on board. Its colour was like that of a partridge, and its size about equal to a curlew; the tail and wings were rounded, the feet black and open[3], and it had a red beak. We inferred from this that we were in the vicinity of some island.

On the 17th an observation of the sun placed us in lat. 17° 27′ S. and, keeping in mind the fact that they found the Variation to be 2° 53′ N.E^{ly} when in this same latitude on the previous voyage, at the longitude of 265° 23′, and that they found it to be 2° 52′ [on that occasion] when in long. 258° 7′, we concluded from these two data that

[1] This is apparently intended to mean S.S.E. and E.S.E.

[2] *i.e. Anaa*, otherwise called Chain Island—which was the appointed rendezvous with the storeship in case of separation.

[3] *Haviertos* (open) here means not webbed.

there is no Variation of the needle in that latitude at long. 262° 42′. In the present voyage, in the same latitude and at long. 267° 33′ we noted 41′ of Variation N.E^{ly}, and in the longitude of 260° 35′ we found 34′, which would point to 261° 6′ as the meridian about which there is no Variation. But, taking the difference between all four of these data [as a basis for calculation] the result gives the position of *nil* Variation as in lat. 17° 30′ S. and long. 261° 24′[1]. In the course of the voyage performed by His Majesty's ship the *San Lorenzo* in the year 1770 to *San Carlos* Island the needle was found to show no Variation in lat. 29° S., long. 262° 25′: from all of which one may conclude that the line of [*nil*] Variation swerves but little from a direction N. and S.[2]

On the 26th, when in lat. 17° 36′ S. and long. 246° 21′, a small gull was caught on board, black with ashen coloured head, and web-footed. Some boobies and boatswain-birds[3] were also seen, and a number of *dorados* and flying-fish: as well as a chunk of wood about a *vara* in length.

On the 28th birds were seen in greater plenty than on the foregoing days, and among them several of those we had noticed during the previous voyage before sighting the isle of *San Simon*: consequently we kept a good look-out and took every precaution during the night-time.

On the 29th, at three in the afternoon, while pursuing our course with a moderate breeze an island hove in sight,

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[1] One reading has 267° 24′, but it is clear from the next sentence that 261° 24′ was intended. Nothing is easier than to mistake an eighteenth century Spanish figure 1 for a 7.

[2] These figures agree only moderately well with Capt. Cook's observations in 1774; but the local area of least magnetic deviation is now some 30° or 32° farther West and slightly North of the equator, trending in an E. and W. direction; while, at the point where Gayangos says they in the *San Lorenzo* found it *nil* in 1770 it was 12½° E^{ly} in 1895, as shown on the most modern Admiralty chart (3258).

[3] *Rabijuncos*—lit. 'Rush-tails,' or *Paille-en-cul*, *i.e.* the tropic- or boatswain-bird, *Phaeton aethereus*, and *P. rubricauda*.

the middle part of which bore W.N.W. 5° W. from us, distant from 4 to 5 leagues. At half-past four, having assured ourselves that there would not remain enough daylight for us to reconnoitre the island, we shortened sail and hauled our wind, with our head to the south'ard, that we might pass the night making short boards and keep the weather gauge of the land. At dawn next morning[1] it lay from 3 to 4 leagues off; and, making all sail to come up with it, we stood on until we got within a moderate distance—less than a league—and could see seven or eight natives on the beach, who followed along in the same direction as the Frigate, and carried long staves[2] in their hands. When we had passed from the N. to its western side and taken note of its extent to the eastward, and observed that it was everywhere hemmed in by a reef, and that the greater portion of its interior consisted of a lagoon, we proceeded on our course: being careful to lie to at night in order to avoid meeting with any island or shoal.

This one last mentioned is situated in lat. 17° 26′ S. and long. 242° 43′, being low and encircled by a reef with a lagoon in the centre; and it is well covered with trees, among which were distinguished coco-nuts and plantains. Its natives look to be of more than medium stature, very swarthy in hue[3], and go naked. The name of *San Narciso*,

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[1] *Cf.* Andía y Varela's journal of even date.

[2] *Palos.* See vol. I, p. 287, note 1. What is there said with reference to *vara* applies in a measure to *palo*; but the latter is rendered stick, stave, cudgel, or bludgeon, where it seems to indicate that the object was really a native's club. These *may* have been spears, of course.

[3] The natives of these "half-drowned" pelagic atolls, living entirely in the open air, wearing no clothing but the *maro*, constantly exposed by their avocations, not merely to the direct rays of the tropical sun but to the fierce reflected rays from the all-pervading ocean, are much darker-skinned than most of the people of the more sheltering forest-clad islands of igneous formation in central Polynesia; but this observation does not apply as against the islanders farther West, where Melanesian influences prevail. In 1826 Beechey found the natives of Serle Island, which lies next to *San Narciso*, as "of the same dark

the saint of the day, was given to it: its form and extent will be seen on the plan of it[1].

On the 31st of the same [month], at sunrise, the Variation was found to be 7° 30′ N.E^{ly}. Several small white birds[2] were seen settled on the water. At 11 in the forenoon we discovered the isle of *San Simon*[3] right ahead, at four leagues' distance. The sun was observed at midday in lat. 17° 28′, and by the bearings and distance noted the middle part of the island lay in lat. 17° 27′ S. and long. 239° 50′; which is nine and a half leagues farther West than the position assigned to it on the previous voyage. We coasted along its southern shore at a distance of a mile off, watched by its inhabitants, who kept following us along the reef. This island and that of *San Narciso* lie West and East from each other, distant 55 leagues[4].

At three in the afternoon we resumed our course towards the position of the isle of *San Quintin*; and at a quarter before noon the next day two islands were sighted from the fore-top, one of them bearing S.S.W. and the other one W.N.W. from us. We continued our course until one in the afternoon, when it was altered to W.N.W. to approach the island we marked down on that

swarthy colour with those of Clermont Tonnerre"—the next one to it—whom he compares in hue to the New Caledonians [Bibl. no. 16]; and in 1839 Wilkes remarked the dark hue of the natives of the Disappointment Islands of Byron.

Dr Lesson, in his *Voyage médical* (Paris, 1829, p. 168) writes of the *Océaniens*, "La couleur de la peau est d'un jaune clair, plus foncé chez les naturels habitués à chercher sur les coraux leur moyens de subsistance."

[1] No plan of *San Narciso* by Hervé has come to my notice, but it seems there may be one in the *Depósito Hidrográfico*. The best chart of this island is to be found in Duperrey's Atlas [Bibl. no. 35 *bis*: sheet 3], drawn from a survey by his officer Lottin.

[2] Terns probably.

[3] *Tauere*, called "Resolution" island by Cook. See vol. I, pp. 286–7, note 2 and Plan.

[4] The bearing given is the true one—the parallel of 17° 20′ touches both of these islands; but they are as much as 180 miles apart.

bearing; but, observing the current to be setting with great force towards the reef by which it is encircled, we made all sail to luff clear of it and get into the parallel of *San Quintin*.

From the bearings and distances noted, and the course sailed up to the time of approaching the reef, it was found that this island, with its reefs, lies 19¼ leagues W. 3½° N. from *San Simon*; and that the one we saw in the S.S.W. quarter bears W. ¼ S.W. 2° S. from *San Simon*: [in relation] with each other these same islands bear N. 9° 15′ W. and S. 9° 15′ E. [respectively], being 6⅓ leagues apart.

The aforesaid island is situated in lat. 17° 29′ S., long. 238° 50′. It consists of a small well wooded hummock or clump, surrounded by a reef the greater part of which is overflowed by the sea[1]. The island seen away to the S.S.W. is larger, and covered with groves of trees[2]. The outline

[1] This was *Tekokoto*, named "Doubtful" island by Cook, who was its original discoverer on August 11th, 1773: though he generously suggested in his journal [Bibl. no. 29, vol. 1, p. 141] that "probably this was another of Bougainville's discoveries." It lies sixteen miles N. of *Hikueru*, and is described in the Admiralty Sailing Directions as "a circular reef one mile in diameter" enclosing a shallow lagoon. "The northern half of this atoll is about 6 or 7 feet high, and the southern half is almost entirely under water with the exception of an islet situated about the middle, which is covered with high trees. There are no coconut trees on this atoll" [Bibl. no. 1 *bis*].

[2] This island was *Hikueru*, in lat. 17° 35′ S., long. 142° 41′ W., erroneously stated in the Admiralty Sailing Directions [*loc. cit.* p. 130] to have been "discovered by Cook on the 6th April, 1769, and called by him 'Bird' island": whereas the fact, as recorded in Cook's journal, is that he sighted *Reitoru* on the 7th of April (at 6.30 a.m.) and "soon got close in with it. It is about 3 or 4 Miles in Circuit, and very low, with a Pond in the Middle. There is some wood upon it, but no inhabitants but Birds, and for this reason is called Bird Island. It lies in the lat. 17° 48′ and long. 143° 35′ W., and W. ½ N. 10 Leagues from the West end of the two Groups" [*Marokau*]. It had most likely been sighted by Bougainville a year earlier, but the particulars and chart of that tract of the Frenchman's voyage are too vague to justify identification.

The latitude, bearing from *Marokau*, and day's work recorded by Cook, added to his description of the island and special mention of the birds, show plainly that it was *Reitoru*, and not *Hikueru* (which is nearly seven miles in length) that he reconnoitred. There are 'rookeries' of boobies at *Reitoru* and *Tekokoto*. *Hikueru* lies E. and W.

and extent of them both will be seen on their plans, where they are named *Los Martires*, and *San Juan* [respectively][1].

On the 2nd of November at $8\frac{1}{4}$ in the morning, we sighted the isle of *San Quintin*[2] right ahead, 5 leagues distant; and we passed to the nor'ard of it, one league off. It bears W. 9° S. from *Los Martires*. We proceeded on our course at six o'clock in the afternoon under easy sail in order that, when day should break, we might still be to windward of the island of *Todos Santos*[3], which in fact was sighted away to the south'ard and west'ard at about ten o'clock in the forenoon. We thereupon stood towards it until near enough to conveniently send in a boat as enjoined by our Instructions; but we were not then able to do this, as the weather had set in squally during the day, and continued so until seven [one ?] o'clock. Having cleared up, however, the boat was got into the water, armed, and placed under my orders, and I[4] started away to see what it looked like along the N.W. shore-line, where, judging from

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in its long diameter, and is "well wooded, except on the eastern and south-eastern sides which are bare, and encloses a lagoon extremely rich in pearl shell" [Bibl. no. 1 *bis*]. It was swept by the cyclone of 1903, when 377 persons lost their lives there; and again in 1906, with six victims. A light is now shown at night (and the French flag by day) when a vessel is sighted; and there is a passage into the lagoon opposite the village at the N.W. end, navigable for small vessels. *Cf.* vol. I, note on p. 288: also Bibl. no. 4. For a more exact physiographic description of *Tekokoto* and *Hikueru* by Alexander Agassiz see Bibl. no. 2, pp. 109–11 of the text, and Pl. 66.

[1] The *Aguila* must have drifted between these two reef-islands during the night of October 30th, 1772, without either of them being seen, when on her first voyage to Tahiti. I have not met with any separate plans of them, but I believe the large general chart by Andrés Baleato which is in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* shows them.

[2] *Haraiki*: see vol. I, pp. 287–8, note 1 and Plan.

[3] *Anaa* or 'Chain' Island: see vol. I, p. 291, note 1 and Plan. For the physiography of *Anaa* see Bibl. no. 2, pp. 84–5 of the text, and Plates 51 (1), 52, 53.

[4] The use of the first person singular here seems to show that even this part of the Journal was penned by Lieut. Gayangos, although Boenechea was still alive and well at that time. The Padres' diary specifically states that Gayangos had charge of the boat on this occasion. But the captain's log or journal was always a joint production, I understand from Arts. 24 and 26 of Boenechea's Instructions

on board, the sea appeared not to be breaking. When we had got within about a boat's length of the reef that fringes it all round, more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty Indians came forward armed with spears and slings, ranged closely together and droning a sort of chant, as if a prayer, and made signs to us to land. Not being able to do so however, because of the heavy surf that was breaking on the reef, I directed the Indian Pautu, after he had made them some signs of recognition, to jump into the water and get into communication with them, so as to explain to them who we were; but scarcely had he set about this, when they attacked us with a volley of stones from their slings, and we were compelled to discharge some muskets into the air to secure our retreat, for there was no other way of getting clear without exposing ourselves to the savage fury of their onslaught. Moreover, my business being to effect a landing, should that be at all possible, without obvious risk, I had to take constant account of the breakers on the reef quite as much as of any resistance offered by the natives.

I then proceeded farther on, coasting along the island: the Indians following my movements until they saw themselves cut off from us by a gap or depression in the reef which obliged them to have to turn back. Just then we caught sight of a wooden cross, standing on a sandy beach on the inner side of the reef near the skirt of a wood. It was of moderate size, regular in all its proportions, and showed signs of having been erected there a long time ago[1]. Seeing that the Indians were by this time so far

(vol. I, p. 274), embodying information collected and verified by all his officers; and Gayangos probably revised and adapted the MS. kept by Boenechea down to the time of the latter's illness, afterwards continuing it himself, as commanding officer.

[1] A particular interest attaches to this passage about a cross, in relation to the one that was erected by members of Quirós' expedition on the 11th of February, 1606, at the island they named *La Conversion de San Pablo*, identified by Sir Clements Markham and the late

off that they could do us no harm with their slings I put back a little way in order to place myself in a better spot [for landing], and when close up to the reef I ordered a seaman to jump ashore with a couple of small knives, and wade up the beach to a dry place, where he was to deposit them in full view of the Indians, and then return to the boat. No sooner did they see him on shore than several Indians emerged from the wood on the skirt of which the cross stands, and, joining forces with the other party on the reef, they set off running towards the place where the seaman was, with many angry gestures; while he, seeing them approach, put the knives down on the reef as I had

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Admiral Sir William Wharton as this very atoll of *Anaa*. Cf. *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* [Hakluyt Society, Second Series, vols. XIV and XV] where Gonzalez de Leza says that it was "a very high well-made cross": Belmonte Bermudez says the spot was in a "palm grove" (adjoining a *marae*): and Torquemada observes that the landing party "arrived at a place which was near the beach, and on the verge of a small clump of palms and other trees," that they "entered the thick wood, some of our people cutting away the branches with their swords until they came near the other bay of still water [the lagoon], which is on the other side of the island" [*i.e.* of the strip of land between the sea and the lagoon], and that on finding the *marae* "they desired to plant the royal insignia where the dweller in darkness was worshipped...so with Christian fervour they began to cut down a tree with wood-knives, of which they formed a cross, and set it up in the place with great joy" etc. The analogy of these records with the story related by Gayangos is too striking to be passed over without criticism; yet it is scarcely conceivable that a cross, constructed on the spur of the moment out of green timber, with only wood-cutters' knives (and perhaps cutlasses) for tools, without copper nails presumably, or augurs for boring trenail holes, should survive the ravages of time and cyclones for 168 years—even supposing that the natives, the sanctity of whose *marae* was thus flouted, did not interfere with it. When the expedition under Gonzalez, in 1770, set up three crosses at Easter Island, the natives were seen to pull them down the very next day, as soon as the ships weighed anchor, though they were on barren hill-tops and not in a *marae* at all.

There is a tree, called in Fiji the 'vesi' (*Afzelia bijuga*, A. Gray), which grows on many South Sea islands though not so far East, I believe, as *Anaa*, and whose heart-wood is almost imperishable even when buried. Another called 'buabua' (*Guettarda speciosa*, Linn.) is used for short piles, fences, and house-posts for the same reason; it might possibly be found in such situations as the one described, but they are not its normal habitat, nor is it usually so straight or convenient as the former for making a cross out of. The principal trees grown within

ordered him to and betook himself back to the boat. Curious to know what it was that the seaman had left for them, several of the Indians drew nearer; and one of them, coming upon the two knives, started off in high glee to show them to his companions. This made them all collect close to the boat, making signs of peace, and without any recourse to their slings. We therefore pitched some more knives across to them from the boat, and some biscuits: and they made return with coco-nuts, a pearl-shell necklace, a bow, and some strips of the matting with which they cover their nakedness. Several of them sprang into the water and came to the boat's side, where they held converse with us through our Indian Pautu, who told us he did not understand more than a few words, but that they knew him quite well for a Tahitian by the staining[1] on his arms and legs.

As I could not spend any longer time at this place, on account of the troublesome surf, and the Frigate being

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the *maraes* and around their limit-stones, as sacred, were the *amae* or *miro* (*Thespesia populnea*, Soland.), *ati* or *tamanu* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.), and the *aito* or *toa* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*, Linn.). All these afford hard and durable timbers, but are less adaptable for the purpose under discussion than the 'vesi.' On the whole, I am not disposed to believe that the cross Gayangos stumbled upon so opportunely at the only spot he touched at on the whole island, in 1774, was the same that Quirós' men set up in 1606; but, if the former was really a cross, designed as such and made by hands, the questions naturally arise "Who put it there? When? And with what object?" The only records we have of *Anaa* after Quirós' discovery of it but prior to this visit are Capt. Cook's, who sighted it without communicating, in April 1769, and again in August 1773, and Boenechea's, who coasted along the S. and W. sides of it without effecting any landing in 1772. Tupaia, however, alleged that a white men's ship had once been wrecked there [Bibl. no. 41, p. 517]. This question must therefore, it would seem, remain one of the many mysteries of the Pacific—like "the half of a cedar pole, which had been worked on the coast of Nicaragua or Peru" that González de Leza says they found at the same island on the day when they set up their cross, and the "gold ring with an emerald" that Belmonte Bermudez saw the old *Anaa* "woman who appeared to be a hundred years of age" wearing "on one of her fingers," but who "did not care for one of brass that they offered her" in exchange [*op. cit.*].

[1] *i.e.* the pattern of his tattoo markings.

rather a long way off, I came away and proceeded on board of her, where I made an exact report to the Comandante of all that had taken place.

We continued in sight of the said island, standing off and on in waiting for the storeship *Jupiter* (this being the appointed place of rendez-vous) until the 9th, when winds from the 4th quadrant, accompanied by numerous squalls and much rain with thunder and lightning, drove us off the coast and we got sight of land on which the sea was breaking heavily, lying to the N. ¼ N.E. We ranged along it with our head to the E. at a distance of between 3 or 4 leagues until half-past three in the afternoon, when we saw two hummocks ahead of us with a heavy surf beating upon them. Being fearful to pass the night in this position, in the presence of so many dangers, and the weather having still a threatening appearance, we again made for the Island of *Todos Santos*, which we succeeded in sighting at eleven o'clock the next day. We remained by it until the 12th, when it was decided to proceed for AMAT's Island and we resumed our course under all plain sail.

San Quintin lies W. 2° N. from the [island] of *Todos Santos*, distant thirty-eight leagues[1]. The land sighted on a N. ¼ N.E. bearing, and the two hummocks seen to the E. of it, where the surf was beating so, were given the names of *San Julian* and *San Blas*. The former lies in lat. 17° 9′ S., and in the long. of 236° 49′: from *San Quintin* it bears W.N.W. 5° W., distant 23½ leagues. The latter one is in lat. 16° 53′ S., and long. 236° 22′: *Todos Santos* bears S.W. ¼ S. from this, distant 13½ leagues. And

[1] This is fairly right for the corrected bearing, except that the names of the islands have got transposed. It is *Todos Santos* that lies West from *San Quintin*. But *cf.* vol. I, p. 291. The bearing of W. 5° 30′ N. there given cuts the N. extreme of *Anaa*: corrected. The true distance between these islands is 106 miles.

the bearing between the two stated islands themselves is N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. 10° W., distant ten leagues apart[1].

At nine o'clock in the morning on the 13th we came in sight of the isle of *San Cristobal*[2] about six leagues distant; and as soon as we had drawn in with the land on its southern side, between one and two in the afternoon, several canoes with Indians in them came alongside. Our native, Pautu, spoke to them, and on their recognising him they clambered on board without any hesitation, very pleased and surprised at seeing him. Some odds and ends were given to them; and we learnt from these natives

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[1] A study of these particulars side by side with the modern Admiralty chart (no. 767) makes it clear that the islands Boenechea named "San Julian" and "San Blas" were *Tahanea* and *Motu Tu'a*; but in applying the data it also becomes evident that the names of the two islands have got transposed in the MS.: as is the case with *Todos Santos* and *San Quintín* in the preceding paragraph even more obviously. See note on p. 115. Making allowance for such reversal of names, or reading 'former' for 'latter' and *vice versâ*, the latitudes given are exact for *Tahanea*, and only 5′ out for *Motu Tu'a*. In fact, if we read 17° 3′ for 17° 9′ (3 and 9 being easily mistaken for each other in old Spanish) this one becomes exact also. For the longitudes an accumulated error of from 5° to 6° has to be allowed for, as elsewhere explained; but the figures quoted agree with the other data in proving a transposition of the names. The 'league' is a rather unreliable unit in all these journals.

Of these two islands *Tahanea* was a new discovery, one of those for which Bellinshausen (who called it "Tchitchagov") has received the credit, although his voyage was not made till 1819–21. This should now be duly accorded to Boenechea. For photographs of *Tahanea* see Bibl. no. 2, Pl. 54, 55: and *cf.* text, pp. 85–9.

The other island—*Motu Tu'a*—was also a new discovery in so far as Boenechea could know; but as a matter of fact it had been sighted one year before by Cook and Furneaux (on the 13th of August, 1773), when its position was recorded in their logs and it was named, after the latter officer's ship, "Adventure" island. It is now laid down in the Admiralty Charts and Sailing Directions in lat. 17° 3′, long. 144° 25′ W. from Greenwich; these figures indicate its northern extreme. The "hummocks" (*mogotes*) described by Gayangos at its western end agree well with the "clumps" mentioned in the Sailing Directions as lying all along the North side, the southern reef being destitute of vegetation [Bibl. no. 1 *bis*], and help to prove its identity and that of *Tahanea*, which last exhibits some special features.

[2] *Mehetia*. *Cf.* vol. 1, pp. 292–7 and Plan. For photographic views of this island see Bibl. no. 2, Pl. 90 (2) and 95 (1). There is a good water-colour sketch of it by Lieut. George Tobin, in his MS. log of H.M.S. *Providence*, in 1791 [Bibl. no. MSS. 21, Log. no. 94].

that the Island of *Todos Santos* is not the one we took to be *Matea*, but that their name for it is '*Tapuhoe*,' and its inhabitants are a very fierce people who do not maintain intercourse with any of the neighbouring islands[1].

These Indians quitted us before sunset to make good their return to the shore, and, through Pautu, petitioned the Comandante to convey to AMAT's Island five or six natives belonging to it who were just then at *San Cristobal*, but had no means of getting home: to which request he assented.

We passed the night making short boards in order to keep the weather gauge of the island and receive them on board the following day, which, however, could not be managed owing to the weather setting in dirty; and we therefore bore up for the Island of AMAT.

The isle of *San Cristobal* is distant 49 leagues and

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[1] *Tapuhoe* does seem to have been the old name of *Anaa*, or of some part or village of that island. See note on p. 291 of vol. I, wherein for *La Sagitaria* read *La Conversion de San Pablo* as the more trustworthy identification: and also note 1 on pp. 112–114 hereof. From what we now know of the *Anaa* natives, as matters of history and tradition, only the converse of the statement that they held in Boenechea's day no intercourse with any of the neighbouring islands can be affirmed. The *Anaa* people were in fact sea rovers, and frequently raided the smaller islands of the Tuamotu group, being strong enough and feared enough to obtain what they wished for by force rather than by barter or peaceable commerce. Their pre-eminence arose mainly, no doubt, from the greater productiveness of their atoll, owing to its size and the nature of the soil on it. Hence they were better fed than most, their struggle for life was comparatively easy, they became prosperous, wealthy, ambitious, autocratic, and warlike. They had also the best supply of timber, built larger and more seaworthy canoes than their neighbours, and ventured farther afield, not only to Tahiti (which they once designed to conquer and did actually invade, but consented, after a parley, not to molest), but even to the windward atolls of *Hao*, *Vairaatea*, and *Nukutavake*. Possessing, with these advantages, a teeming population, leavened perhaps by a measure of inborn truculence above their neighbours', and incited by minor rivalry and successes *inter se*, it is not surprising that the islanders of *Anaa*, as a community, should have gained an ascendancy over most other natives of the Tuamotu archipelago (excepting perhaps those of *Fa'arava* and *Ra'iroa*).

2 thirds from that of *Todos Santos*, on a bearing W. ¼ S.W. 0° 30′ W.[1]

On the 14th, at half-past three in the afternoon the said Island of AMAT hove in sight; and, so soon as we found ourselves to be within some six leagues' distance of it, we hauled our wind and passed the night making short boards, until six o'clock next morning, when we again bore up for the land. At eight the storeship *Jupiter* was observed under sail off the harbour of *Tayarabú*, and a signal was made to her to join company. At the same hour a proclamation was solemnly issued forbidding every one on board to offer any offence to the natives of the island and those lying near-by, whether by word or deed, on pain of rigorous punishment.

This island [Tahiti] lies 1° 25′ farther to the Westward than was accounted the case on the previous voyage; and is distant from that of *San Cristobal* 26⅓ leagues W.N.W. 4° 45′ W.[2]

At ten o'clock we laid the main-yard aback and got the boat into the water, armed and under the orders of Junior Lieut. Don Raymundo Bonacorsi, who was charged with the duty of making a particular examination for the best harbour there might be between the bay of *Oydia*[3] and, East about, as far round as *Papala*[4]; and, having cast off from alongside with the Second Master Ramón Rosales, the marine-interpreter, and the native Pautu, they stood away towards the harbour of *Tayarabú*[5], where the said

[1] Taking it as from the South extreme of *Anaa* the bearing quoted (allowing for the difference in magnetic declination since Boenechea's time) is correct, by compass. The actual distance is 160 miles.

[2] The distance from *Mehetia* (San Cristóbal) to the nearest part of Tahiti, which is *Vaiurua*, is just 60 miles. The bearing here quoted would pass North of Tahiti, between Point Venus and *Tetiaroa* atoll: and one is driven to suppose that the MS. may be at fault here.

[3] *o Hitiaa.*

[4] *Papara.*

[5] Meaning *Vaiurua* pass and lagoon, in the district called *Taiarapu.*

Pautu belonged. Before entering it they were surrounded by innumerable canoes which repaired to the spot to meet their fellow-countryman: of whom they already had news from the storeship. They landed in front of his house, where the bystanders one and all showed great pleasure at seeing him again, and so well clothed too. His near relations gave him a most affectionate reception, weeping bitterly, kissing him, and lavishing their caresses on him in such profusion that they left him no chance to utter a word. This first and natural impulse over, they listened [to his story] in silent wonder as if to an oracle; and, tendering our people many thanks for the good treatment he had been accorded, and for having restored him to the island, they made them a great presentation of all the fruits of their usage, and a quantity of fish besides.

The boat party then shoved off, to carry on with the duty, with Pautu and some of his relations on board, and accompanied by a crowd of canoes. They led the way along inside the reef to the adjoining district of *Ohatutira*[1], saying that the *arii* Otu was there with all his household, together with Titorea, and Vehiatua—who rules over that District—taking their recreation; and, before they had time to bring the boat to an anchor, these magnates sallied out to receive them with the same demonstrations of joy and interest as the former Indians. On arriving at this place a bay discovered itself to view, formed within the horns of the reef[2]; and, being overtaken by a heavy shower

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[1] Now called *Tautira*: *Hatu* having been transposed into *Ṭahu*, to avoid the forbidden syllable *tu*, and the *h* being subsequently dropped by ellipsis. For remarks on this custom, called *te ṗi*, see Hale, U.S. Explor. Exped. (Wilkes) *Ethnology and Philology*, vol. VII, p. 288 *et seq.*; and Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language* (Second Series, 1864), pp. 28, 34–36. It was also called *O Fatutira*.

[2] This bay subtends the embouchure of the *Vai te ṗiha* and is sometimes called "Cook's anchorage." *Tautira* is the village situated on the low, flat peninsula, or tongue of land which forms the eastern shore of the bay and consists of shingle and alluvial

of rain, the *arii* went ashore in there. As soon as it had passed over, our people set about taking soundings in this bay, and made some traverses, during which they learned from the natives that an English frigate whose captain they called "Notute[1]," had lain at anchor there a short time previously. On completing this duty they let go the grapnel for the night. The *arii* Otu and Vehiatua then immediately came back to the boat, the latter bringing a canoe-load of fruit, fish, and a hog, as a presentation to them—which compliment our people acknowledged with some light articles they had with them—and they remained engaged in a long and chatty conversation till nightfall, when the *ariis* went off again, to sleep on shore.

They weighed early next morning and completed some further traverses which remained to be done, in the course of which the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua came off again, and our people started away in their company for Port *La Virgen*[2]. Having examined this to their satisfaction they proceeded on to the roadstead of *Oydia*, where the

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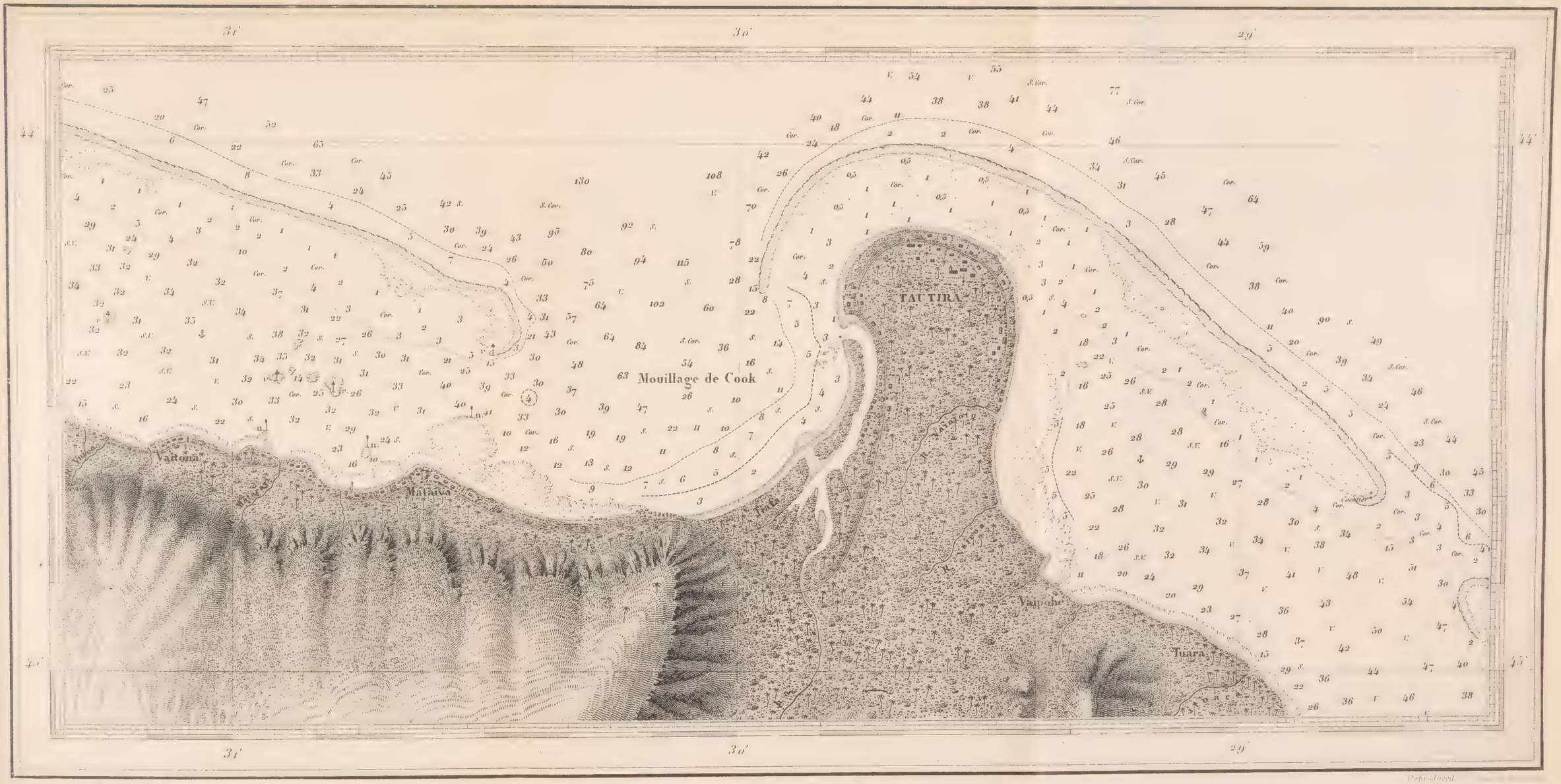
detritus washed down the gorge of *Ataroa*, through which the river reaches the sea. This material accumulates on the shore reef, becoming banked up and retained there by the contending influences of the flood-water from the gorge and the surf in northerly weather. The locality is well depicted on the accompanying Plan, which is reproduced from a section of the French Admiralty chart (no. 3825). The entrance to the bay between the horns of the reef to seaward is seen to be of notable depth. By comparing this chart with Hervé's Plan (in the pocket) the shortcomings of the latter may be recognised; but its identification offers no difficulty, notwithstanding those defects, to anyone acquainted with the place *in propriâ personâ*. It is one of the most beautiful and fascinating spots in the Pacific, though *Tautira* itself suffered lamentable damage by submersion during the remarkable tidal wave in 1906. See Plate at p. 124.

[1] *i.e. no Tute*—of Cook. The *k* sound, which does not exist in Tahitian, is either dropped or becomes *t*. Capt. Cook's visits to this bay took place in the *Endeavour's* pinnace with Banks in June 1769, in the *Resolution* with Furneaux in August 1773, and again with Clerke in August 1777 [Bibl. no. 30, p. 81, no. 29, vol. I, pp. 146–151, no. 28, vol. II, pp. 8–20, no. 40, vol. I, cap. viii, and no. 51, vol. II, p. 157].

[2] So named by the exploring party in the launch during the *Aguila's* visit to Tahiti in 1772: now known as *Toharoa* in the district of *Pueu*. The passage is the first one West of *Vaitepiha*.



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TAUTIRA AND THE BAY OF TE [illegible] PIHA

(Soundings in Metres)

arii Oreti[1] holds sway, being the same in which the two ships under Maria Bougonbil's[2] command had lain at anchor. Here they carried out the same job, although the *arii* aforesaid warned them beforehand that the bottom was patchy, being everywhere obstructed by coarse and scattered rocks. They brought to, while dinner was being got ready, and at half-past one in the afternoon again got under way for Port *La Virgen*[3], where they passed the night. They returned, on the succeeding day, to the bay of *Ohatutira*[4] and there learned that the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua had gone round to *Tayarabu*, towards which the launch party continued onwards. On reaching Port *Aguila*[5] they made for the shore in order to receive the *arii* Vehiatua on board, who offered, of his own motion, to accompany them to the inlet off *Papala*, which they examined in as much detail as they did the previous ones; but they found it cumbered throughout with coarse scattered rocks, and exposed in many parts to the prevailing winds[6].

After fulfilling their errand they remained satisfied that the anchorage of *Ohatutira*[4] was the best of all those they had explored; and they started early the next morning on their return to Port *Aguila*[5], in which they brought up at half-past six in the evening and passed the night without adventure.

On the 19th, at six in the morning, they put to sea from that same place to make for the Frigate, accompanied by the *arii* Otu and two brothers of his, with Vehiatua and Titorea, and some followers. They arrived on board at

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[1] *i.e. o Hitiaa*, of which o Reti was the *arii*.

[2] M. de Bougainville, in the *Boudeuse* and *l'Étoile* in 1768. Perhaps 'Maria' is an error for 'Monsieur': this officer's names were Louis Antoine.

[3] See note 2 opposite.

[4] See note 1, p. 119.

[5] *Vaiurua*. See note on p. 87.

[6] Identity doubtful.

two in the afternoon, where the Chiefs were made most welcome by all of us, and remained in our company of their own pleasure until the Frigate came to anchor.

We continued to stand off and on at a moderate distance awaiting a favourable wind for entering the harbour of *Ohatutira*, upon which we had now decided.

On the 23rd there came on board in a canoe manned by six Indians the wife of Titorea, in a very tearful and despondent mood about her husband's absence, and likewise that of Vehiatua her son, telling us that, on shore, these Chiefs were even now supposed to have been lost and all the people were deeply anxious on account of their missing *arii*, who, in spite of this piece of news, did not again venture themselves in the canoe: for the wind had freshened considerably, and to make for the shore in it would have exposed them to obvious danger. So that we found ourselves obliged to hoist the canoe inboard, and to let the lady stay in her husband's company until the weather should permit of our sending them back. It calmed down a bit the next day and we got the Indians' canoe into the water, as well as our own boat armed and in charge of Don Juan de Manterola, lieut. of marines, with instructions to see our guests safely landed, whom we provided with a goodly store of useful articles. They evinced ample signs of gratitude and cast off from the frigate's gangway offering us many civilities. At the moment they were letting go, two canoes came up under sail laden with provisions sent off for the said two *arii* by their Indians, in the belief, no doubt, that they would stand in need of them through not relishing the components of our dietary.

We kept our position by standing off and on, experiencing several squalls and downpours of rain from the 2nd and 4th quadrants until the 26th [of the month], when the weather became finer and the boat returned on board without having met with any particular adventure.

On the morning of the 27th the wind set in light from the N.N.W. and we made all sail to draw close in with the land and pass into the harbour. So soon as we got within easy distance the boat was hoisted out and lowered, and the Second Master was sent away in her with orders to station himself in the passage with a pendant hoisted, to serve us for a beacon: a signal was made to the storeship to see everything ready for anchoring. At half-past twelve o'clock the boat signalled us that she was in position, and we stood in towards her with a fresh breeeze at N.W.: at two o'clock in the afternoon we let go the starboard bower in the aforesaid harbour[1].

JOURNAL OF PARTICULAR OCCURRENCES during our stay at the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*, in the Island of AMAT, situated in latitude 17° 34′ S., and longitude 232° 28′ from the meridian of Tenerife[2].

We dropped anchor in the above-named harbour on the 27th of November of 1774, at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, in 15 fathoms[3], black sand with some

[1] This journal of the outward passage as far as Tahiti lacks much of the detail such as Boenechea gave in that of the preceding voyage over the same ground. The account written by the Master of the storeship, of his voyage begun and ended under convoy of the *Aguila*, will be found to supply many other particulars, and to amplify some of the broader statements of Gayangos.

[2] The true longitude of the bay of *Vaitepiha*, or *Tautira* as it is now more usually called, is 149° 09′ 30″ West from Greenwich—which amounts to 4° 58′ 30″ more than Gayangos and Hervé made it. *Cf.* Andía y Varela's journal *postea*: he found the long. 228° 56′ from Tenerife, which is equivalent to 147° 43′ West from Greenwich, and gives him only 1° 26′ 30″ of easterly error. Andía's latitude, too, is correct to half a mile; whereas the officers of the frigate considered it to be 17° 34′, which is 10′ 30″ too northerly.

[3] Capt. Cook anchored there in the *Resolution* "in twelve fathoms water, about two cables' length from the shore" [*loc. cit.* p. 120].

gravel, the wind being from N.W.; and after having got the launch into the water the yards were sent down and topmasts struck, for we lay without shelter from the prevailing wind.

We saw the ship securely moored with two stream anchors to the nor'ard and one to the S.: the one nearest to N. being in 11 fathoms' water on a bottom of black sand and ooze, and the other more towards the N.W. in 14 fathoms, same bottom. That to the S. lay in 4 fathoms; and we had 8 fathoms, sand and ooze, beneath the frigate's hull.

The storeship *Jupiter* moored astern of us in similar fashion[1].

The instant we had let go, the *arii* or Cacique of the District, Vehiatua by name, came on board with the *arii* Otu, whom they style the *arii erahe*[2]—which is equivalent to Cacique or Overlord—accompanied by the major portion of his suite: and they made us a presentation of wraps [of native cloth] such as they are accustomed to use, fine mats, *tahumis*[3], hogs and a variety of fruits, with which we were much gratified. We rendered our acknowledgements with a gift of axes, knives, shirts, and soft goods of our own sorts: all of them articles they prize most. At this they were filled with delight, and kept up a long and animated conversation with us through the medium of the Interpreter and the two natives on board.

Canoes without number came off, at the unaccustomed sight of the Frigate, laden with plantains, coco-nuts, and *Eurus*[4] in such abundance that after every mess had supplied itself with what its members liked, without stint,

[1] *Cf.* Andía y Varela's journal *postea*, where fuller details of the anchorage are given. And see the positions marked on Hervé's chart.

[2] *i.e. arii rahi*, paramount Chief.

[3] *Taumi* is the Tahitian name for the plastron or demi-gorget formerly worn by Chiefs and certain warriors. See Plate.

[4] *Uru* is breadfruit.

B.G.C. Photo, 1909. *Reproduced by Donald Macbeth.*

VIEW FROM TAUTIRA BEACH, LOOKING TOWARDS ATA'AROA.

there still remained over such quantities that we had to give them to the cattle.

The Comandante invited the two *arii* into the cabin, with some eight or ten principal persons of their retinue, where he imparted to them his design of setting up a house on shore as a dwelling for the two missionary *Padres* and the marine who was to be with them as Interpreter, explaining that they wished to remain at the Island, of their own free-will. He inquired of the Chiefs whether they were agreeable that the house should be erected, or no; and whether they would give a plot of land for the homestead, and make our people comfortable. To this the aforesaid *arii* made answer with inexpressible satisfaction that they would be most pleased that the house should be built, and that the *Padres* should remain in occupation of it: that they would themselves provide men and everything necessary for its construction: and that the *Padres* might make choice of whatever site should seem to them best. In virtue of their willing acquiescence it was then agreed that I[1] should go with the aforesaid *Padres* and the marine-interpreter, on the morrow, to select the site most appropriate for the purpose.

The conference being brought to a close they stepped up on to the quarter-deck, where they all joined in a very lengthy conversation among themselves, apparently of quite a gratifying nature, which we inferred might have reference to the proposal we had just laid before them. At dusk the *arii* ordered their canoes to be got ready, and, after taking leave of us all with many embraces, they set out for the shore: the other canoes that had lain alongside all following in their wake.

28th Nov. The *arii* of the District came on board as

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[1] "I"—*i.e.* Lieut. Gayangos: *cf.* the *Padres'* and the Interpreter's diaries, and note 4 on p. 111.

soon as day broke to invite me ashore to look at the land ; and, in accordance with what had been agreed upon on the previous afternoon I[1] embarked in the yawl with him, the missionary *Padres*, the Interpreter, the native Pautu, and an escort of two marines. As soon as we landed on the beach the aforesaid *arii* conducted us to a very spacious and well constructed hut of thatch, where we made a short halt pending the arrival of two Indian headmen whom he had ordered to be called ; we then immediately sallied forth on our errand, accompanied by an endless number of Indians who came out of curiosity.

We made first for a prominent point of view, from whence I saw a broad stretch of flat land covered all over with fruit-trees, something like a mile in length and rather more than half as much in width ; but, after examining its whole extent, and the quality of the soil composing it, I found that it was everywhere marshy. We therefore worked back towards the beach at the place where the natives have their village ; and I satisfied myself that the immediate outskirts of that afforded better soil and would prove more easy of cultivation : this opinion gained support from the fact that they have their own gardens in that quarter.

The *arii* and all the people of his retinue told us that this was the better site ; and, on ordering an Indian to dig, the soil was seen to consist of black mould somewhat sandy in quality, with some gravel, and capable, in my judgment, of growing whatever might be planted in it. A small plot of this, of about thirty *varas*' frontage, and a hundred *varas* deep, the greater portion of which was planted up, appearing to me better than the rest, I suggested it to the *arii*. He answered that it belonged to his mother, and that he was not able to decide on it without her approval ; but that he would speak to her about the

[1] See note overleaf, and 4 on p. 111.

matter, and did not doubt but she would concede it. In point of fact, meeting her on the beach as we were about to return on board, he put it to her there and then, and she granted the land with great readiness—mentioning, however, to her son, that we should keep the building some ten *varas* farther away from an oratory[1] that stands hard by. Having done our errand we repaired on board with the said *arii*, who afterwards took tiffin with us and remained in the Frigate all the afternoon.

I submitted to the Comandante an exact report of all that had been agreed upon, and he decided to go himself, the following day, and inspect the area I had stated to be best adapted for our purpose[2].

Quite as many Indians came alongside the Frigate as on the previous day, in canoes laden with all kinds of produce, native cloth, mats, hogs, ring-doves, paroquets, fowls, periwinkles, and to say truth, with whatever they possessed no matter how trivial in value; all for barter with our people. We found endless diversion this day in watching the dealings of the Indians, and we were amazed to see the subtlety with which they tricked our men in their exchanges, getting the better of their bargains with old and worn mats and scraps of native cloth, which they sold as new, but were often enough full of perfectly disguised mends and patches.

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[1] Investigations I made on the spot, with the kindly co-operation of the Chiefs descended from the collaterals of Vehiatua and Amo, show that this "oratory" was the *marae* called '*Vaiotaha*,' which had been founded about twenty generations before the date of Boenechea's and Gayangos' visit, with a sacred stone then brought over from *Porapora—Vavau* as it was anciently called—by a renowned Chief and navigator named Raa-mauriri. This *marae* was ruthlessly destroyed by Pomare II's command in 1815, at the instance of the missionaries; and its site is now entirely overgrown with dense vegetation, so that the photograph I obtained of it shows nothing but forest undergrowth.

[2] Compare the account given by the *Padres* in their diary *postea*, and their somewhat disparaging criticism of the site.

The father of the youngest of the Indians[1] we had taken with us [to Lima and back] came on board; and, as soon as he saw his son, greeted him affectionately and was loth to loose him from his embrace. He did the same with several of ourselves into whose care he had confided the boy when we took him from the island. The old man remained on board the Frigate with him for some days, lost in contemplation at again seeing his son, and marvelling at the stories he related about Lima and the kindly treatment accorded him there.

The Indians withdrew at nightfall, and the *arii's* canoe not having come off for him he begged that our boat might convey him ashore, which wish we gratified.

29th Nov. The Comandante landed in order to inspect the plot of land I had recommended to him for the homestead; and as, on going over the ground himself, it seemed to him very good and well suited for our purpose, he decided that a space contained within a frontage of twenty-five *varas* running S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. and N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. by a depth of one hundred *varas* running S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. and N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. should be marked off with pegs. Its distance from the beach was about a *quadra*[2] and a half, and a little less than that from a river of fresh water which flows out on to the beach.

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[1] *i.e.* Tetuanui, a youth stated to be between ten and twelve years old when they took him to Lima, two years before the time here alluded to.

[2] A *cuadra* is a somewhat indefinite measure of distance quoted in colloquial parlance in South and Central America, and really means the length or width of a 'block' in any of the towns laid out on the rectangular system. Lentzner [Bibl. no. 62] states that in the Argentina it is commonly equal to 150 *varas* or 129·9 metres; but in Uruguay about 100 *varas* only. Juan and Ulloa put it at 150 *varas* in Lima. Frezier [Bibl. no. 42] says "150 *varas* or Spanish Yards, that is 64 fathoms," in Santiago de Chile, and the same in Lima. We may take it that Gayangos quoted it with the width of a block of 150 *varas* in his mind's eye, being the equivalent of as many paces, or 139 English yards, a *vara* or verge measuring 2·78 of our feet.

The *arii*, being asked if there was any objection to a few trees which stood in the way being cut down, told us there was not: our carpenters thereupon felled them, and they came in for boundary posts. The *arii* directed his people to stub and clear the surface of the plot we had chosen, and they did so in the course of the day, transplanting everything that was of use to themselves to a neighbouring piece of ground.

We returned to the ship at midday, greatly oppressed by the heat,—and the flies, which are so abundant and pester one to such an extent, especially on calm days, that one can not move about without carrying something in the hand to whisk them away with.

The Comandante resolved that a beginning should be made next day at the work of erecting the house; and, for this purpose, he detailed a guard comprising a serjeant and four marines, with a naval petty officer, the two carpenters belonging to the ship's company, four seamen as axemen, and six more of the same for the rough work of driving in pickets and hauling timber.

As large a number of canoes came alongside as on the preceding days, and some *arii* from the neighbouring districts: they continued bartering with our people.

30*th Nov.* Sails were unbent, and a beginning was made at re-coopering our water-casks (which, being originally of bad quality, had become very unsound) in order that we might water ship at a stream that flows out of a ravine and discharges itself into the sea a short way off from where the Frigate lay.

The Comandante and some of us officers went ashore for a stroll, and to take a look at the work our men were about. We met the *arii* of the District with more than two hundred Indians watching what the carpenters were doing, all wondering at the ease and speed with which

they brought down the trees. The *arii* himself joined our party, and led us to the place where the launch was filling water for the day's use; and he warned us that they should go farther up-stream, because it was somewhat brackish[1] at the spot where they were. As it was now close on noon, we took our leave of him, saying that we would come back again towards evening: to which he made answer, quite courteously, that our tiffin the day before had been much to his liking, and the Comandante thereupon naturally invited him to come to our table whenever he felt so disposed. And this he did for the space of some days afterward, during which he learned the use of knife, fork, and spoon, and took great pains to observe all our motions; asking whomever was at his side to show him what to do, each time he found any difficulty in copying them. None of our flavourings came amiss to him: he asked for wine at the proper times, and commended it highly—which is not to be wondered at, considering that he used to befuddle himself on most days with a nasty bitter concoction that his henchmen brewed for him from a plant they call *Eava*[2].

The Comandante again landed in the afternoon, together with his guest and some officers, and as the twenty-five *varas* of ground laid off for the frontage of the building seemed to him rather much, he decided that it should be twenty instead, and fifteen *varas* from front to back: leaving the remainder of the hundred *varas*' depth [of the allotment] for garden ground. So the first pickets were then put in on those measurements.

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[1] The stream mentioned is the *Vaitepiha* itself. It is shown on the French chart at p. 120, and Hervé's plan in the pocket. During spring tides with strong northerly winds it is liable to admixture with salt water at the point where it disembogues over the shingle beach of the bay, just as Vehiatua pointed out and I have myself witnessed.

[2] This is the well known *ava* or *kava* shrub of Polynesian islands (*Piper methysticum*, Forst.).

The Indians continued their barter with our people, and brought some excellent fish of all kinds.

Dec. 1*st.* The launch went in at daybreak to get fresh water, with a petty officer, a corporal, and two marines under arms, having orders not to allow any of the party to stray away from the work in hand: desiring by that means to prevent any excesses. Between nine and ten o'clock the marine-interpreter came off in a canoe and reported to the Comandante that the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua and all their people were getting their canoes in readiness to go away into another District, being in a state of alarm brought about by one of the seamen of the launch, who, in consequence of his shirt having been stolen whilst it was spread out to dry, had gone in among the natives and threatened them by gestures, knife in hand, that if they did not institute a search [for the garment] he would cut their throats, and they would be fired upon with muskets. The Interpreter explained that this had so terrorised the natives that he had not been able to persuade them against betaking themselves off.

The Comandante, having heard the Interpreter's statement, instructed me to proceed ashore to reassure them, and to find out who had been the instigator of the row. In obedience to the order I jumped into the yawl and made straight for the beach, where I stepped ashore close to the spot at which the aforesaid *arii* were standing, ready for flight. They immediately came up to me and asked whether we intended doing them any hurt, upon which I gladly assured them that they need not be afraid, and that I was going to find out who had been threatening them, in order to have him punished. Nothing more was needed to satisfy them, and to stay the preparation of the canoes. I then ordered the launch's crew to be called up; and, mustering all hands in line in front of the two *arii* for these to tell me which was the man who had used threats,

they pointed one out to me. I had him made fast before them and sent down to the boat under arrest; but, upon this, the *arii* hurried to my side and begged me, with many embraces, to set him free. I told them, through the Interpreter, that I was not at liberty to grant their request, because the Comandante had directed me to secure the culprit after this fashion: and that he alone could dispense with the punishment, on their intercession. They then begged me, in virtue of my reply, to take them off with me in the yawl that they might sue for the man's pardon. So I shoved off for the Frigate, with the said *arii* and the prisoner, and reported everything to the Comandante, who immediately ordered the punishment pendant to be flown, and had the seaman lashed up to a gun for a flogging. But, so earnest and so effectual were the *ariis*' supplications, that, before there was time to administer the sentence, the Comandante gave way to them, and directed that the man be put in irons, and not allowed to go ashore any more.

They showed many marks of gratitude for the seaman's pardon, telling us that they knew us for genuine friends; and they both dined on board with us on that day and remained in our company until the angelus, when they betook themselves back to the shore in our yawl, accompanied by all the canoes that had been lying alongside trading.

Dec. 2nd. Our carpenters carried on with the house-building; and the Indians, by virtue of some small knives and other trifles that were given them, busied themselves hauling the timber for it.

The *arii* of the bay of *Oydia*, named Oreti[1], came on board with all his household, being the same who voluntarily

[1] O Reti, the Chief of *Hitiaa* on the East coast of Tahiti Nui was a well-known prefect, and ruled over a section of the island largely independent of the rest, in his day, as Tu did in *Pare*, Amo in *Papara*, and Vehiatua in *Taiarapu*. See vol. I, p. 312, note 7, and pp. 314–5.

accompanied me all round the island on the occasion of our previous voyage. He arrived at the gangway greeting me by my full name and surname; and, on my inviting him to step on board, he embraced me with many demonstrations of pleasure, and called to his henchmen to follow him up the side that he might present me with a profusion of fruits, pieces of native cloth, mats, and a good sized hog, that they had brought with them. Pleased with this attention, I responded with a gift of two axes, six knives, and some other things; and we held a long and friendly conversation, during which he expressed concern because the Frigate had not come to his own District [to find a berth] to bring up in. I satisfied him on this point by explaining that in the portion of his bay where there was good shelter the holding ground was particularly insecure[1]; but that I was nevertheless his friend in every way, especially because I was very sensible of the good service he had rendered me during the previous voyage.

This *arii* is about forty-five years of age, of good presence, full of humour, active in body; and he made himself more easily understood by all of us than did any other.

Dec. 3rd. We overhauled our cables and found they had not sustained any injury. The Indians continued their bargaining in the same fashion as heretofore, always bent on the surest means of taking our people in.

Dec. 4th. At dawn this day more than a hundred canoes, what with large and small, some with paddles and others under sail, were disclosed to view both inside and outside the reef, under the leadership of two *pahies*[2]

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[1] The anchorage off *Hitiaa* is so bad that M. de Bougainville's two ships lost six anchors there in nine days [Bibl. no. 19, and MSS. 32].

[2] The *pahi* or old Tahitian war-canoes have been well described by Wallis, Cook, Forster and others, and were very remarkable craft. None have existed for about a century; even Ellis wrote "I never saw but one of these" [Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, p. 167]. The best of them were said to have been built at *Ra'iatea*.

or canoes of the bigger class such as they use in warfare; and, having enquired of the first Indians who came alongside of us where so many canoes marshalled together were bound for, they told us that they had come from the district of *Opare*[1] with provisions for the *arii* Otu. We nevertheless, as a precaution, loaded our guns with round and grape shot, and likewise got ready the small-arms; but on the convoy arriving within half a league or so, all the canoes gathered into close order and, heading straight towards the harbour, passed within the entrance and made a dash for the beach.

About two hours after these canoes had come in we heard a lot of shouting on the beach, and, calling for our spy-glasses, we saw the canoes laying one another aboard and their crews belabouring each other freely with cudgels. The same tumult was observed to be going on on shore; so that, believing some violence might be attempted against our working party, the yawl was immediately armed and piped away, to discover the cause of so sudden a riot and to restore order. When, however, the Indians who were alongside the Frigate saw our boat start off in this unusual fig, they told us, with much laughter, that we need have no anxiety: that there was an *Erabé*[2] between the two parties of *Opare* and *Tayarabú*: and, on our asking them what was meant by *Erabé*[2], they replied that it was the custom, when one *arii* was sojourning in the district of another *arii*, and his own people sent him levies of food, for the [visiting] *arii* to take some of the choicest, and to leave the rest for division among the mass of the people; but that, on this occasion, that practice had not been respected, through the canoe hands having wanted to keep

[1] *Pare* and *Arue* districts are now united under the dual name *O Pare-Arue*. They extend coastwise from the West side of *Matavai* bay to the West end of *Papeete*, and for some distance inland.

[2] *i.e. Rave*, the act of seizing or appropriating: distraint.

it all for themselves. The *Tayarabú* men had thereupon joined forces with those of *Ohatutira* against the canoe party, and, raiding them simultaneously afloat and ashore, had taken the whole of their stuff from them.

The yawl soon afterwards came back with the same story, adding that a good few Indians had got roughly handled in the scrimmage; and that, had not those of *Opare* precipitately abandoned their canoes, there might have been bloodshed.

The *arii* of the district did not punish the aggressors in the affray, nor did the paramount *arii* appear to take it as any affront; for they both related the story of the affair to us afterwards quite unconcernedly, and seemed to regard it as a smart piece of work.

The Indians detained a seaman of the storeship *Jupiter* on this day, who, having had some lewd traffic with an Indian woman, afterwards took away again a handkerchief he had given her as the consideration. On this she had shouted to her people, and they seized him; but they did him no hurt, merely keeping him a prisoner and acquainting his commander, who happened to be on shore, with what had happened; and they guided the latter to where they had the man detained and there delivered him over. The commander, being informed of this, made the seaman restore the handkerchief to the girl; and, taking him off on board the Frigate, he was put to shame by being lashed up to a gun and flogged.

Dec. 5th. We got on with the refitting of our rigging, and with the house-building: and nothing special occurred.

Dec. 6th. On the afternoon of this day, just when our people were most strenuously engaged in bartering with the Indians, all the latter dashed off suddenly and confusedly in their canoes for the shore, leaving us in much

perplexity as to what cause could have moved them to so precipitate a flight. We watched the beach attentively and saw crowds of Indians running hither and thither, and our boat making off in all haste for the ship. She arrived alongside with news to the effect that a coco-nut palm had fallen on one of the six seamen told off to work at the house, and that he was killed outright[1]. This unlooked for occurrence had thrown the Indians into such confusion that many of them—the *arii* Otu, with all his following, among the foremost[2]—were about to betake themselves off in fear lest we should retaliate upon them for the accident. But on our people gently and soothingly assuring them that there was no occasion to decamp, that no blame attached to them, and that therefore no harm would be done to them, they gave up their intention and regained their wonted composure.

An inventory of the deceased's effects was immediately taken; and on the morning of the following day, after the funeral mass had been said, the body was interred close to the mission house, with all the ceremonial prescribed by the Church; and a small cross was set up over the grave.

The Indians found much matter for remark in the interment; and they viewed our method of burying the dead very unfavourably, observing that to shovel earth in atop of the body, and then stamp it down [with the feet], was an act of disrespect to the departed.

Dec. 7th. The topmasts and yards were swayed aloft; and the yawl went ashore with Ensign Don Juan Herve, the Master, [to enable him] to lay off a base line and obtain some bearings necessary for drafting a chart of the harbour.

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[1] *Cf.* Andía y Varela's account of the incident: *postea.*

[2] Many circumstances in these records betoken the timid character this Chief has been usually credited with: *cf.* p. 144 for an example similar to the above.

Dec. 8th. On this day the Frigate was dressed and bedecked with bunting in honour of the Most Pure and Immaculate Conception of Our Lady the Virgin Mary: and no work was carried on. At sunset, cheers were given for the King; but we did not fire any salute, for fear of alarming the Indians, of whom there was an infinite number gathered round about the Frigate, attracted by the novelty of seeing her dressed and admiring the diversity of the colours so jauntily displayed.

Dec. 9th. The cables were overhauled and found to be without any damage whatever: the carpenters cut three logs of good timber for trestle-trees. Nothing particular happened.

Dec. 10th. On this day we learnt that the *arii* of the district had banished the Indians who lived up the gully[1], because they had not got ready a contribution of provisions he had levied on them.

The caulkers made a beginning at repairing the waterways, packing and making tight the light-scuttles, and gun-room ports, and attending to several seams where the caulking was rotten.

We felt the heat exceedingly on this day, and there was no wind at all until night-time, when the land breeze came along and cooled the air.

Dec. 11th. When the launch returned to the Frigate after landing the working party, at six o'clock in the morning, there came in her an Indian called Hinoi—brother[2] to the principal *arii*, and himself *arii* of the

[1] *La quebrada*, that is, the ravine or gorge of *Ataroa*, through which the *Vaitepiha* stream makes its way to the sea, above the head of the bay. It forms the rear ground of the view shown in the Plate at p. 124. A fine picture of its entrance, drawn by Mr Webber, and tinted in water-colour, is in the British Museum [Bibl. no. MSS. 25].

[2] Half-brother would be more correct. This Hinoi, whose other name was Vairaatoa, was the son of Tu's father Ṯeu (the "Whappai" or Hapai of Cook) by a different wife—Tetua Umeretini Vairao (*teste* Tati). Tu had also another half-brother, Ariipaea, whose mother's name has been lost or suppressed.

district named Matavai—to inform our Comandante that the Indians up the gully who had neglected to pay a just tribute, and whom Vehiatua had warned on the previous day that they were dispossessed of their lands and banished from his district in consequence, were now up in arms against him; and that the latter was going, aided by the *arii* Otu, to pay them out for their disloyal hardihood.

On being made aware of this piece of news the Comandante decided that Ensign Don Nicolas de Toledo should proceed ashore with a Serjeant [of marines] and twelve men, to protect the working party in the event of any riot or assault being committed by the rebels.

We could see from on board that there was a great bustle amongst the Indians. They were setting out for the gorge, armed with spears, slings, and cudgels: but straggling without any order or method, gaily bedizened in the clothes we had given them as presents, and wearing white turbans of many folds round the head as a protection against blows from sticks or stones. Some of them wore masks with the most grotesque features imaginable, and were making all sorts of feints and gesticulations.

As we were all anxious to know their manner of fighting, and to learn which party was going to gain the day, we directed the Interpreter to find the best means he could for watching their movements from a distance, without exposing himself; so, making his way up the gorge with some of his chums, he succeeded in seeing the whole business without incurring the least danger. When he got back on board, before midday, he told us that the encounter never got the length of calling for the employment of arms on the *arii's* part, against the insurgents; for, so soon as these saw the enemy advancing with such superiority in numbers, they abandoned their village and fled up the cleve into the recesses of the mountain, and although the *arii* went in pursuit his men did not succeed in overtaking

them. He therefore withdrew his forces to the insurgents' village, where he gave them liberty to sack and burn the houses and lay waste the plantations; a feat they achieved with much yelling in less than two hours, leaving neither house, nor fruit-tree, nor ground crops on which they had not avenged the infidelity of those in revolt. This performance ended, Vehiatua retired with the greater part of his men laden with native cloth, mats, fruit, hogs, and such moveables as they had come across, as the spoils of victory; and he immediately afterwards came off on board the Frigate, where he related to us the story of his operations with keen satisfaction[1].

Dec. 12*th.* On this day the first studs of the house were placed in position.

The Comandante gave directions for one mess at a time to go ashore to wash clothes, at a spot fixed upon for that purpose, with a corporal and two marines charged with preventing any disorderly conduct.

Dec. 13*th.* The carpenters continued work on the house, but made little progress, owing to the rain which fell throughout the day.

Dec. 14*th.* The stream anchor farthest to the nor'ard was weighed and catted ; and a kedge was laid out in place of it.

Dec. 15*th.* By the Comandante's decision we began to issue cabin bread every day, as the stock was found to have got damp and was keeping badly.

The Indians continued to barter with our crew; but, it having come to the Comandante's notice that the men were heedlessly parting with clothing they had in use and would need for the homeward voyage, he issued an order that no one should give away or exchange any [more clothing] on pain of punishment.

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[1] *Cf.* the Interpreter Máximo's account of this raid, under the corresponding date in his own diary (vol. III).

Dec. 16 *and* 17. The first trusses for supporting the ridge and gables of the house of the settlement were placed in position, and the Indians brought as many as fifty *purau* poles or *palo bobo* for roofing it over with.

The yards and topmasts were sent down, as the wind had hauled into the N.W. and knocked up a choppy sea.

Dec. 18 *and* 19. An anchor was laid out to supplement the northern one, the N.W. wind having freshened and increased the lumpiness of the sea. This anchor proved more reliable; and we lifted the kedge. On the wind and sea moderating the storeship *Jupiter* warped in under shelter of the reef to discharge the main sections of the portable house: which were got ashore in the course of the 19th, a serjeant and four men remaining in charge of them through the night.

Dec. 20*th.* The marine Joseph de Castro received punishment, by order of the Comandante, for having left his post when on sentry duty, without orders or permission from the serjeant in command, and having gone off to a native's hut and not put in an appearance again all night.

The sections of the portable house were fitted together in position within the standing shed; it has a frontage of six *varas*, by ten deep. The Indians collected round to see it set up, and were all much astonished at the quickness with which the job was completed, and at the accuracy with which the several pieces fitted together.

Dec. 21*st.* The *arii* of the District came on board and represented to the Comandante that the seamen told off to procure grass for the live-stock had been cutting it within the precincts of an *Imarae*[1] or sanctuary, and had eaten

[1] In these documents the word *marae* is variously written 'Maray,' 'Imaray,' 'Imarae' and even 'Inmaray.' Having stated this, it seems preferable to print it correctly, *marae*, in the translation, wherever it occurs farther on, as being more intelligible to the reader.

of the fruits that grew there and were held sacred to *Teatua*[1], their Divinity, who was much displeased in consequence, both with him and with all his people. The *arii* further alleged that this was the cause of there having been so much sickness in the district, and of the death of three or four of the principal Chiefs, of whom one was his father's brother the *arii* Pahairiro, who held sway over the bay of *La Virgen*[2].

The Comandante, being informed of his superstitious complaint, gave orders that no more grass be gathered at the place and that the fruits of the *marae* be not interfered with. It is a fact that they were just then afflicted with an epidemic of catarrhal fevers from which many of them died during our stay in port; attributable without doubt to the repeated wettings and exposure to the sun's rays the natives underwent through their fondness for coming off to the Frigate at all hours, and on all days, not excepting those when there was most rain. This was [an indulgence] quite opposed to their usual habit, as they themselves told us, of not going outside their houses on wet or misty days, even to look for food; and therefore it is in no way strange that such an alteration in their regular mode of living should prove thus prejudicial to their health. This was aggravated by their invariable practice of bathing at sundown, even when feeling seriously unwell; and from this many of the deaths evidently resulted, for the most part those of persons of advanced age. But we never succeeded in convincing them that the epidemic arose out of their irregularities, rather than through their Divinity being angered, as they considered[3].

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[1] *Te Atua*—God.

[2] '*La Virgen*' is *Toharoa*, in *Anuhi*: now the *Pueu* district. *Cf.* p. 120 note 2; also vol. I, pp. 311, and 312 note 1.

[3] The explanation here given of the possible cause of this epidemic is a common-sense one, and quite plausible. But there is good reason to believe that it falls short of the whole truth, and that the bacteria,

The *arii* Otu, Vehiatua, Hinoi, and the greater part of the Indians of the District, repaired to the bay of *La Virgen* on this day to attend the obsequies of the *arii* Pahairiro; and we directed the Interpreter to join in the throng and watch all the ceremonies attending the interment, that we might be able to speak with some accuracy on the subject. This he did, in accordance with our wish, and on the following day he gave us a true and circumstantial account of all that took place[1].

Dec. 22nd. The *arii* returned with their companions from the interment; and when they came on board they related the affair to the same effect as we had been informed by the Interpreter.

Our carpenters went on fitting the house together; and the Indians made a brisk start at roofing or covering it in with a kind of rushes perfectly plaited together in imitation of those they live under themselves.

The *arii* of the District was very keen to sleep in the house in company with the Interpreter and the marines on sentry duty there; and, this being permitted him, he gave them a quantity of fish for supper, exhibiting every moment his intense enjoyment at seeing himself so finely lodged. When supper was over our people put the room in order for him, but he desired them to change the head

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micrococci, and other invisible organisms that pervade the atmosphere enveloping every ship can and do prove especially virulent, morbific, and fatal to the inhabitants of remote islands, who are not immunised against them by frequent intercourse with strangers. Even dysentery was attributed by the Tahitians to this channel of infection (by the medium of Vancouver's ships); and numerous instances of outbreaks of catarrhal fevers or influenza in similar circumstances are on record both in rarely visited parts of the Pacific, and small outlying islands nearer home—notably St Kilda.

[1] For the Interpreter's account of this function see his own diary, of corresponding date, in the succeeding volume. Although the word interment (*entierro*) is here used we may not assume that the body was buried, but merely eviscerated, anointed or embalmed, and exposed in the *marae* in the customary way, on a staging or elevated bier, or within a mortuary shed.

of the bed round, because it would be an act of irreverence for him to lie with his feet in the direction of the *marae* or temple which stood hard by. They arranged it for him as he wished, and he passed the night quite restfully.

The day was calm, and some showers fell until nightfall, when we experienced a smart land breeze.

Dec. 23rd. The Indians went on with their job of roofing over the house, as fast as our men got along with fitting it together. An auction of the effects of the deceased seaman Manuel Basquez[1] was held: and two launch-loads of firewood were brought off.

Dec. 24th and 25th. A turn was taken out of the cables: and some grass was cut for the live-stock.

Dec. 26th. After early mass had been celebrated the carpenters landed with one of the crew's messes to work at the house, and cut wood. When the boat which had taken them ashore returned, there came in her Vehiatua and several Indians of rank to take their leave of us, saying that they were going on the morrow to the district of *Araautea*[2] for three days, in order to entertain some Indians arrived there from the island of *Orayatea*[3], with whom they held friendly relations.

At four in the afternoon we noticed that there was a great hubbub and shouting on shore; and, in a moment, all the canoes that were at that part of the beach put off in confusion. At this the yawl was sent in with an officer, a serjeant, and four men under arms to learn the cause of the turmoil; and a little after she had started away from alongside, the storeship's boat, which had made at once for

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[1] Vásquez, the seaman who was killed on Dec. 6th by the fall of a coco-nut palm.

[2] Elsewhere written *Ayautea* and *Aiautea* in these journals. It appears to have been a district situated a few miles South and West of *Tautira*, now called *Iroroa*.

[3] *O Ra'iatea*.

the beach with the same object, arrived bringing one of her own seamen very badly wounded in the head. The coxswain reported that an Indian of the gully had stolen three shirts of this man's from the washing that was spread out to dry, and that the seaman went in pursuit of the Indian, overtook him, and gave him a drubbing; but that the latter, on getting free from the seaman, picked up a stone and dealt him three or four blows on the head with it, so that he was left as good as dead.

The boat returned with a message from the officer in charge to the effect that the Indians were so alarmed at this occurrence that in the space of less than half an hour they had cleared their houses of all moveables and had decamped helter-skelter, both by sea and by land. Only Vehiatua, his retainers, and here and there another, were left; and these too were thinking of going off, in consequence of a message just received from the paramount *arii*, who was the first to flee, with all his household.

The Comandante being informed of all [the trouble], I went ashore by his orders with some of the officers; and, directing our steps towards the Mission house, we found the Cacique inside it, weeping bitterly. We consoled him with all possible gentleness and goodwill, and persuaded him not to absent himself nor to have any fear of us, assuring him that no harm would be done him: but that it would be very proper for him to have a search made for the assailant, and that, if the man were found to be really at fault, he should be delivered over to us, or punished by himself—as he well knew that we had done the same with two of the Frigate's men, when the provocation was less. No doubt our request seemed to him justly conceived, for he immediately called his retainers together and despatched them in search of the assailant: remaining in our company himself to await results. At the end of an hour or so they brought in an Indian to us

whom they alleged to be the delinquent, but who himself denied it most strenuously, stating that he was a long distance away at the time the quarrel took place, collecting his fire-wood. We then sent for those of the storeship's crew who had witnessed the scrimmage, and set the Indian accused of being the assailant before them; but they all with one accord declared that he was not the man, and that they knew the real offender quite well.

The Cacique thereupon became perplexed, and, on his blaming his retainers for falsely accusing the prisoner, they insisted that he was the man. But just then an Indian of position and repute arrived on the scene and told his *arii* that the assailant in the struggle had not been the same person who stole the linen, nor was he the Indian then before us, but another,—whom the sailor had belaboured for no better reason than that he came across him near the place; and, having already given him one drubbing, returned to maltreat him a second time, and that then it was he defended himself with the stone.

As it was now past sundown the investigation of this affair was not farther proceeded with; and we retired to the mission house, from whence a message was sent off to the Comandante acquainting him with everything, so that he might form his conclusions as to what course should best be adopted. His decision was, that the man falsely accused should be released: that the tools and implements be collected and the house shut up, and that we should retire on board, and bring the picket off with us, after telling the *arii*, from him, that, in view of the ill return made for all the benefits he and his compatriots had received at our hands, it was no longer his wish that the *Padres* should remain in the island, and that, on the morrow, we would take the house to pieces and have it conveyed on board again.

The *arii* and all his friends were much mortified to

hear the Comandante's resolve, and begged us earnestly not to do that, pledging their word that the offender should be given up the next day. We returned on board, leaving the house in charge of a trustworthy Indian of the *arii's* suite.

While we were in the boat the corporal belonging to the picket told us that one of Vehiatua's servants had thrown stones at them that same day, because they would not let him go into the house; and that, on his arresting the man, his master came along begging for his release, and pressing them not to mention the matter to the officers, bringing also the Interpreter to back his request; and that, to satisfy the Chief, they had given the man his liberty.

According to the surgeon's report, the injury might prove fatal; and early on the morrow, after the wounded man had acquitted himself of his duties as a Christian, the Holy Sacrament was administered to him.

Dec. 27th. At daybreak on this day a trusty henchman of Vehiatua's, named Taitoa, a man much esteemed by all of ourselves, came on board with a message from his *arii* desiring that some of the officers should land with the Interpreter, and the native Pautu, and saying that he was awaiting them near at hand in order to deliver up the delinquent Indian. By direction of the Comandante I went with brevet-ensign Don Diego Machado, those above mentioned, and the henchman, to join the Cacique where he was; but, finding that he was much farther away than I had supposed, I despatched the Interpreter and the native Pautu with an intimation to him to come nearer to where I was, under a pledge that he should meet with no harm and that I was his true friend. I stayed there, together with the ensign above-named and two marines, awaiting his reply; and in the meanwhile I spoke with the few

Indians who had not forsaken the village, and they told me the story of the quarrel in the same terms as the Indian of position who had explained it to his *arii* [the evening before]. They all seemed greatly concerned at what had happened, and never left off asking us whether we were in anger about it.

Tiffin time arrived, and seeing no appearance of the messengers returning, we went off to the ship.

At half-past one in the afternoon the Interpreter came back, bringing word from Vehiatua to the effect that he was afraid to come lest we should adopt coercive methods towards him; and that if we wished to speak with him and take over the offender an officer should proceed to a point half-way from the frigate to where he then was with the said offender, which meant more than a league.

The Comandante did not assent to this overture, however, but directed the Interpreter to go again to the *arii* and repeat, from himself, the same assurances of personal safety, and to make him see the delay his absence was causing us; for it was now his intention to go on with the work on the house, and without the *arii's* presence the natives would do nothing. At two o'clock the Interpreter started off to put this argument [before the Chief], and at four most of us officers proceeded ashore, taking with us the youngest of the Indians we had carried to Lima on the previous voyage; and we traversed all the outskirts of the village without meeting with any incident among the few Indian stragglers there.

Prompted by his relatives, who had come on purpose to carry him off, the aforesaid youth made an attempt to escape from our party; but being intercepted in it he declared in the most resolute manner that we might strip him to the skin if we liked, but that he would not go back to the Frigate. At sunset, the Interpreter not having put in an appearance, we withdrew to the Frigate,

being accompanied as far as the beach by the Indians of the village, now convinced of our friendship and satisfied that no harm would be done them; they even offered to resume the work of roofing over the house at break of day.

When we got on board the Comandante decided to send a picket of twelve marines under a serjeant to mount guard over the house, and that the launch, armed and under the orders of an officer, should remain at anchor near the beach through the night to cover their position, so that the marines should have somewhere to retire to in the event of the Indians making any attack on them.

Dec. 28th. At daybreak we saw the Indians of the beach laden with thatch with which they were going to roof in the house, as they had promised.

At nine o'clock the Indian Taitoa (our good friend), and the Interpreter, came on board with the news that the *arii* had not come since the previous day because the native Tomas Pautu had represented to him that we intended to carry him off to Lima, as well as the paramount *arii* and his brother Hinoi — just as, on the former voyage, we had taken away himself and his three companions; and that, being persuaded this was really the case, Vehiatua despaired of ever regaining our friendship and had yielded to many earnest solicitations that the prisoner might be restored to liberty.

The Interpreter, seeing the *arii* and all his people impressed by the false notions this Pautu had imbued them with, assured them that there was no truth in it all; and, making Pautu come before him by command of the *arii*, he harangued the bystanders in a loud voice, relating to them all the good treatment extended to Pautu and his companions both at Lima and during the course of the voyage,—the particular esteem in which the Most

Excellent the Lord Viceroy had held them, lodging them in his palace, clothing them handsomely, always watchful of their health, and seeing that they had amusements, the variety of presents too with which they were loaded when they came away—and drawing their attention to the absence of any motive this faithless Indian could have for fomenting such a mischievous lie as that we wanted to carry off the three highest personages of the island, which was an idea that had never so much as crossed our imaginations[1].

This appeal by the Interpreter made such an impression on the company that, seeing Pautu had nothing to say in rejoinder, they hustled him out of their presence, while his own chiefs and elders abused him with a thousand reproaches.

But, notwithstanding their having given such clear proofs of goodwill, and being apparently satisfied that nothing was intended against them, the *arii* continued firm in his refusal to go back to his District unless one of our officers should come unarmed to where he then was and would guarantee that there should be no harm done him.

The whole statement of the Indian Taitoa and the Interpreter being made known to the Comandante, he recognised how strong was the repugnance on the part of the natives to give up the assailant; and he took it for expedient that we should waive our claim, since, in

[1] It is stated, nevertheless, by the *Padres* in their diary, under Dec. 26th, that Don Nicolás Toledo did make a suggestion to the Comandante at this time that they should seize Vehiatua, and detain him on board the frigate as a hostage until the real author of the wound the seaman had received should be given up and punished. And he quoted Capt. Cook's action at *Matavai* in forcibly detaining three principal Chiefs (on board the *Endeavour* in July 1769) simply to secure the arrest of a deserter whom a few of the natives were suspected of harbouring. The *Padres*, in their diary, claim that they contested Don Nicolás's proposal, on the ground that were it put into practice, the Tahitians might avenge themselves on the mission and those who comprised it, after the frigate's departure. See the quotation at page 210 of this volume; and *cf.* Bibl. no. 30, p. 85.

the contrary event, it would be necessary to resort to forcible measures of some kind, which would be prejudicial to the aims [of our commission]. He therefore decided that I should go and look for the *arii*, accompanied by the brevet-ensign, and assure him in the Comandante's name that no harm should be done him, and that none had ever been intended. Furthermore, as regarded the Indian who had been arrested, the *arii* was to give himself no anxiety on account of having restored him to liberty: because, the facts of the encounter having now been sifted to the bottom, he held the Indian absolved from blame—the seaman having twice maltreated him without any justification—and therefore the *arii* should no longer doubt the Comandante's friendship.

We left the ship at ten in the forenoon on this errand, in company with the Interpreter and the Indian Taitoa, who guided us to where Vehiatua was staying with all his following. He came to us as soon as we had landed, with a very grateful look in his face, and received us with many embraces. I duly stated to him in the name of the Comandante all that I was instructed to convey; and all the people present showed great satisfaction at being relieved from the obligation to give up the assailant, as well as at the reconciliation by which they regained our friendship: in proof of which the *arii* sent for a hog and a bunch of plantains and made me an offering of them, saying that he would go on board the Frigate on the morrow himself. I expressed to him some lack of confidence in his resolution, saying that I feared he might allow himself to be influenced again by Pautu and perhaps not come after all. On this he assured me to the contrary, pledging his word by the hog and the bunch of plantains he had just presented, and declaring that, but for the *arii* Otu's absence, he would go off with me there and then. I summoned Taitoa to my side to

further vouch for the *arii's* good faith, and the latter told him to go along with me in the boat and see all the necessary arrangements made for getting on with the thatching job with despatch; and, no longer feeling the slightest doubt that he would fulfil his promise, I begged him to bring the paramount *arii* with him. He answered that that might be very difficult, because the latter was seized with apprehension due to the promptings of Pautu; but that, for his own part, he would spare no pains to get him to come.

The colloquy being at an end, I took leave of the *arii* and those around him, and set out for the Frigate with the same members of my party in the boat as had accompanied me [all day]; and, when I had acquainted the Comandante with all that had passed, he expressed satisfaction and decided to withdraw the picket from the house and to leave that building in the care of the Indian Taitoa and the Interpreter.

Dec. 29th. The carpenters proceeded with their work on the house, and the Indians with the thatching, as arranged for by Taitoa.

In the afternoon the *arii* Vehiatua, with Otu's brother Hinoi and his mother Fayere[1], came: all showing deep satisfaction at being re-established in our friendship. They told us they had slipped away unnoticed while the *arii* Otu was asleep, for that, had he been awake, he would never have assented to their coming, owing to the nervous apprehension Pautu's wiles had inspired in him. They said that they were obliged, themselves, to go away to *Aiautea* to take their share in entertaining the high Chiefs of the island *Orayatea*; but would return with the *arii* Otu and all his suite within three days; and added that

[1] This name is unfamiliar. Máximo writes it 'Bayere' in his diary of the 30th. *Cf.* note 2, p. 137: can Fayere mean Vairao?

their coming now had no other object than that we should feel thoroughly assured of their friendship.

They mentioned to us that Tomas Pautu had given away all his clothes, and was going about in his bare skin, wearing nothing but the breech-clout[1].

Dec. 30*th.* The carpentering work about the house was finished to-day; and the working party filled in the rest of their time cutting fire-wood for use on board. The Indians came alongside in their canoes to pursue their traffic with our people in the same fashion as before.

Dec. 31*st.* The Indians completed their job of roofing over the house; and the stock of provisions, utensils, and furniture for the missionary *Padres* was landed.

When satisfied that everything had been duly delivered they gave a certificate accordingly. Fifteen packages of flannel and cotton shirts were handed over to them as extras, being some that had come at the disposal of the Comandante for distribution among the Indians as he might think fit, in order that in this way they should be put to good purpose.

The *Padres* took over possession of the house and slept in it from that night forward, in company with the Interpreter, the native Maititi, Tetuanui, and an uncle of his.

The Comandante summoned all the officers to meet him in the cabin, to decide upon a day for the erection of the Most Holy Cross in token of possession; and we agreed that it should be done on the morrow, being the first day of the year 1775.

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[1] The whole of this incident is related in even greater detail in the Interpreter's Journal; see vol. III.

It appears as if the native who retaliated on the seaman for his misguided assault upon him had been some person of eminence—perhaps a near relative of Vehiatua or even of Tu; for there was clearly a very strong reluctance to deliver up the real culprit or even to let his identity be known, notwithstanding that these Chiefs had Capt. Cook's seizure of Tutaha, Purea, and her brother Tepau i Ahurai vividly in mind.

Anno 1775.

Jan. 1*st.* In accordance with what had been agreed upon the day before, the marines were mustered under arms at eight o'clock in the morning with their several officers, and were ordered to proceed ashore and form up on the beach; and a little while later the yawl followed, conveying the Most Holy Cross, accompanied by the [ship's] chaplains and all the combatant officers. On transferring it to the shore the marines fired a volley, and a solemn procession being formed, with a sufficient number of lighted candles, it was borne forward towards the mission house and the Litany of the Saints was chanted the while. The Cross was erected in front of the building, and the marines at this time fired a second volley. First mass was then celebrated in token of thanksgiving and in honour of the Most Holy Cross; after the benediction a third volley of musketry was fired off, to which the frigate responded with a salute of twenty-one guns. The *Salve Regina* was next sung, at the conclusion of which we all of us adored the Most Holy Cross with the veneration and respect due to it: and the function ended.

An infinite number of Indians collected at this unwonted event, for besides those belonging to the District there came others from all the neighbouring parts. They stood around in a most respectful and subdued manner, watching all that passed; many of them climbed trees in order to see the better, and seemed lost in wonderment, so that they put many quaint and pointed questions to us on the subject. At eleven o'clock we retired on board; and nothing else that was noteworthy occurred during the day.

At nine o'clock at night, when most of us were on the quarter-deck enjoying the cool air, the sentry at the gangway called out that there were some Indians hiding in the cha'n'ales. On hearing this the watch on deck laid hold of their arms and on going to search [that part of the ship] the quarry took to the water; but the launch and yawl being piped away in pursuit of them, two Indians were brought on board after much trouble: for, being excellent swimmers, they dived and came up a long way away as often as the boats got near them. We made them fast in the bilboes; and, on asking them what had been their intention, they confessed that they wanted to make off with some hoop iron they had seen in the afternoon, and that they had reckoned on our being asleep.

Jan. 2nd. The affair of the two thieves we had secured was told to Taitoa, and he was asked to choose whether he would himself punish them in our presence, or whether they should be punished on board by us: and, having assented to the second [alternative], they were given a very mild flogging[1]—so much so that Taitoa was quite annoyed because they did not catch it more severely, and proceeded to pummel them with kicks and fisticuffs to an extent that made it necessary for us to intervene and restrain him from further chastising them on shore.

Jan. 3rd and 4th. Several launch-loads of wood and two of ballast were brought off, and stowed against the magazine bulkhead. The fore and main lower rigging was set up, the weed cleaned off from the frigate, and sails bent.

The Indians, knowing that we were on the eve of sailing for *Orayatea*, brought quantities of fruit and hogs to barter with our people.

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[1] Fifty lashes apiece, say the *Padres* in their diary of even date.

Jan. 5th. O Vehiatua, Otu, and all his following who had just arrived from *Aiautea*, came off to the frigate and remained on board most of the forenoon in very friendly converse with us all.

We fired the first gun for departure, and loosed the fore-topsail.

At four o'clock in the afternoon all the combatant officers, the Paymaster, and the missionary *Padres*, being assembled in the mission house by direction of the Comandante, we invited (through the medium of the Interpreter) all the principal *arii* and Indians of distinction in the island to join us there, for the purpose of formally installing our Mission; and, having first asked the Chiefs whether it were their pleasure that the aforesaid *Padres* and the Interpreter should remain in the island or no, they all unanimously answered that it was: the two principal Caciques, O Vehiatua and Otu, promising of their own accord that they would befriend them and shield them against any aggression on the part of the inhabitants of their island, contribute towards their subsistence, and supply them, if at any time their own class of provisions should run short, with so much as they might have need for. At the same time, they discreetly warned us that in the possible event of our missionaries suffering any reverse at the hands of the people of the island of *Morea* (with whom they themselves were not on friendly terms), or by reason of any foreign ship against which they [the Tahitians] might not be able to offer resistance, they were not to be held in any way responsible.

They were made to understand, through the medium of the Interpreter, the greatness of our Sovereign, the indisputable right he holds over all the islands adjacent to his vast dominions, and his desire to befriend and instruct their people in order that they may be superior to all who dwell in similar ignorance. Next, by virtue

of the warranty under which His Majesty deigned to authorise us in the eleventh article of the Instructions for our commission, we offered in his Royal name to provide them with tools and implements in plenty and to defend them against their enemies; and undertook that they should be frequently visited by His Majesty's ships, so long as they should faithfully carry out what they had promised.

At this they all manifested a lively satisfaction and loudly declared that they acknowledged His Majesty as King over Tahiti and all its lands, the terms of this convention being greatly to their liking.

All this is placed on record in a formal instrument legally attested by the Paymaster of the Frigate, Don Pedro Freyre de Andrade[1].

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[1] *Viz.* the instrument or deed of which the translation next follows. The actual document, written and signed by the *contador* of the *Aguila* Don Pedro Freyre de Andrade with his name and rubric, is preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias* at Sevilla [*Est.* 112—*Caj.* 4—*Leg.* 11]; its text is printed among the Supplementary Papers in this volume with all faults, and errors of punctuation, from a copy I made of the original, *literatim*. Perhaps the best name for this interesting and little-known Hispano-Tahitian agreement would be the "Convention of *Hatutira*, 1775." It had no permanent value or effect, because the Spanish Government was prevented by weightier matters, in relation with its South American dominions and the course of political events in Europe, from keeping up communication with Tahiti after the abandonment of its Mission later in the same year. But so long as that Mission remained in the island, and for some time afterward, the Chiefs loyally fulfilled the stipulations they had assented to as their part of the agreement; and their good faith is attested not merely by the diary of the missionaries and that of the Interpreter Máximo, and the Report of Commander de Lángara, but by Captain Cook in his account of his subsequent visit to *Vaitepiha* Bay in the *Resolution*, in 1777, where he observes that the Tahitians "upon every occasion, mentioned them [the Spaniards] with the strongest expressions of esteem and veneration" [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 12].

Captain Wallis had, it is true, claimed the soil of Tahiti for the Crown of Great Britain in 1767; but that act was performed without any bargain or even conference with the Chiefs, who could have no notion of its significance because it took place only two days after their first known intercourse with white men, when interpretation was in its veriest infancy. His method was to turn a turf and hoist a pendant on a staff at *Matavai*—which the natives removed the same night. They respected the Spaniards' cross, however, and allowed

[THE CONVENTION.]

Don PEDRO FREYRE DE ANDRADE, Staff Paymaster in the Royal Navy serving in His Majesty's Frigate the *Santa Maria Magdalena* (alias) *Aguila*:—

I Certify That:—On the fifth day of January of the year present at four o'clock in the afternoon the combatant officers Don Thomas Gayangos, senior lieutenant: Don Raymundo Bonacorsi, junior *idem*: Don Nicolas Toledo, senior ensign: Don Juan de Apodaca, junior ensign: and Don Juan Hervè, *idem* and Master: together with the two Missionary *Padres* Fr. Geronimo Clota and Fr. Narciso Gonzales: being by direction of the Comandante of this vessel, Don DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA, all assembled in the settlement house, we did through the Interpreter convoke the principal Chiefs and Elders of the Indians of the District [to meet here] for the inauguration of our establishment.

And having questioned them as to whether it were their pleasure or no that the said *Padres* and the Interpreter should remain in their Island they unanimously answered that it was: the two principal *arii* Bexiatùa and Hotù promising of their own accord to befriend and shield them against any affront on the part of the inhabitants of the Island, to contribute towards their subsistence, and, if on occasion the *Padres* should be in lack of their accustomed provisions, to supply them with such as they themselves enjoy: discreetly warning us, however, at the same time, that, in the event of our people being hard put

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it to remain in position: until, in August 1777, Captain Cook "preserved the memory of the prior visits of the English," as he puts it, by obliterating the name CAROLUS III IMPERATOR from it and substituting GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX. How seriously the King of Spain viewed that procedure is made manifest in a later despatch in this volume (Gálvez, March 6th, 1782).

to it by the natives of the island of *Morea* (with whom they [the Tahitians] were not on friendly terms) or by any foreign ship against whom they [the Tahitians] might not be able to cope, they were not to be held in any way responsible.

They were made to understand, through the medium of the Interpreter, the greatness of our Sovereign and the indisputable right he holds over all the islands adjacent to his vast dominions, as well as his desire to befriend and enlighten their people so that they may be superior to all who dwell in similar ignorance: and, by virtue of the warranty under which His Majesty has deigned to authorise us in the eleventh Article of our Instructions, we made offer in his Royal name to keep them supplied with tools and implements, and to defend them against their enemies, undertaking that they would be frequently visited by His Majesty's ships, so long as they should faithfully act up to that which they had promised.

At this all of them manifested a lively satisfaction and loudly declared that they acknowledged His Majesty as King over *Otaheyte* and all its lands, the terms of this Convention being greatly to their liking.

In Witness Whereof: and in order that the facts and purposes hereinbefore recited may be duly attested: I deliver this as my Act and Deed: On board of the Frigate aforesaid at anchor in Port *Oxatutira* of the Eastern Island of AMAT, alias *Hotaheyti*, on the fifth of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

Pedro Freyre de Andrade

Jan. 6th. A number of canoes came into harbour under sail, laden with provisions from a neighbouring island called *Teturoa*, which is tributary to the principal *arii*[1].

The second gun for departure was fired; and we weighed one of the anchors laid out to the N.

An order was given to the storeship to hold herself ready to proceed to sea on the morrow so soon as the Frigate should do so.

Jan. 7th. We weighed the other anchor out N. between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, and remained riding to the southern one, and a kedge for use with a spring to cant her by when getting under way.

At nine the wind came along, fresh, from the E.S.E.; and we got away without misadventure of any kind.

The *arii* and Indians of rank stayed with us until the latest possible moment, when, taking an affectionate farewell of us all, they gave us an infinity of assurances of their regard; and, after we had charged them all to act kindly by the missionary *Padres*, they finally quitted us in great distress at our absence.

A great many of them begged us to take them with us to the Island *Orayatea*; but the Comandante would not allow more than three to embark, one of them in the quality of coastal pilot; and the other two at the instance of the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua, being commissioned by them to bring them over a supply of *ava*—a shrub from which they extract a liquor they are very fond of[2].

The storeship *Jupiter* came up with us by eleven o'clock; and we forthwith shaped a course for the island mentioned, with her in company.

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[1] See the note on next page.

[2] See p. 85, note 1, and *cf.* p. 130.

[NARRATIVE of the Voyage of the *Aguila* from TAHITI towards RA'IATEA, and back to TAHITI: Jan. 7th to 20th, 1775.]

On the 7th of January, 1775, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, we made sail from the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira* with a fresh breeze from E.S.E., in company with the storeship *Jupiter*, bound for the island *Orayatea*. We hoisted in the launch and the boat, and steered towards the N.W. under plain sail.

On the following day, at sunrise, an island was in sight bearing N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.E. six leagues distant, called by the natives *Teturoa*, to which we gave the name of *Los tres Ermanos*. It bears N. 8° E. from the N.W. point of AMAT's, distant $8\frac{2}{3}$ leagues; that of *Santo Domingo* being situated to the Westward, distant three leagues from the said point.

The island of *Los tres Ermanos* lies in lat. 17° S. and in long. 231° 50′: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan[1].

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[1] I have seen no separate plan of *Los tres Hermanos*, but the atoll appears on Hervé's general chart of the Tahitian archipelago, re-drawn by Baleato, which exists in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* at Madrid and shows 22 islands in all. *Teturoa*, now called *Tetiaroa*, comprises seven low palm-clad islets within and upon a single encircling reef about six miles in length by three transversely. There is no deep sea passage into the lagoon, but a shallow depression in the reef allows boats and canoes to enter in fine weather. *Tetiaroa* was not "tributary" to Tu, as Gayangos puts it: it formed a part of his patrimony in real estate handed down from remote times, and continued under his successors to be their freehold family demesne until 1908, when the present inheritor, the *arii* Hinoi, sold it outright, and it became the property of Dr W. Johnstone Williams, whom I take this opportunity of again thanking for many civilities extended to me during my sojourn at Tahiti in 1908–9.

The lagoon has a great reputation for its fish; while several of the islets are renowned for the cool yet balmy air whose softness may be enjoyed under the leafy canopy of the magnificent *tamanu* trees that stud them near the beach and amidst the palm groves. In former times *Teturoa* was the fashionable sea-side resort of the reigning family and their coterie, and became the scene of many revels in which the confraternity of the *Arioi* had their share. Ellis, writing between 1817 and 1829, says that "it was also frequented by the females of the higher class for the purposes of *haapori*—increasing the corpulency of their persons—and removing, by luxurious ease

We continued westwards with everything set until ten o'clock that night, when we hove to under the three topsails.

At half-past five in the morning all sail was again made, on the same course: at half-past six there was visible in the W.N.W. 5° N. an island, which the natives call "Oahine," distant nine or ten leagues. It lies in lat. 17° 20′ S. and long. 230° 41′, and is distant from *Santo Domingo* 22 leagues in the direction N.W. 7½° W. We gave it the name *La Hermosa*: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan of it[1].

At a quarter before eight o'clock another island was sighted from the foretop, which bore S.W. ¼ S. distant seven leagues, and is called "Tupuaemanu." It lies in lat. 17° 30′ S. and long. 230° 46′, being 13 leagues distant from *Santo Domingo*, whence it bears W. 5° 45′ S. We

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under the embowering shade of the coco-nut groves, the dark tinge which the vertical sun of Tahiti might have burnt upon the complexions. So great was the intercourse formerly, that a hundred canoes have been seen at a time upon the beach of Teturoa" [Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, p. 173]. The meaning of *haapori* is to wax buxom, a type of figure which all well-bred Polynesian matrons aspire towards, and few do not achieve.

The bearings and distances given by Gayangos for *Tetiaroa* are fairly correct, allowing for the difference in magnetic deviation between his time and now. The exact position of the S.E. extreme of the atoll, according to the Adm. Sailing Directions, is lat. 17° 6′ S., long. 149° 30′ W.; bearing about 25 miles N. 15° W. from Point Venus (*Matavai*). *Ermanos* is, of course, antiquated spelling for *Hermanos*—'Brothers.'

[1] *Huahine*, as it is now usually spelt, well merits the name Boenechea bestowed upon it, being one of the most attractive and beautiful islands in the Pacific. The waters of its lagoon are so still, and the shore is so steep-to, that I have lain alongside the beach of *Fare* harbour ("Owharre" of Capt. Cook) in a 1600-ton steamer, her head and stern lines made fast to coco-nut palms and hauled in upon until her bilge rested against the sand. The position estimated for it by Gayangos is 5° short of its true meridian, and 35 miles too far South. The latitude is, however, correctly quoted on his chart (in the pocket at the end of this volume), and by Andía y Varela (in his journal) who was only 1° 20′ astray in its longitude. The centre of *Huahine* is actually in lat. 16° 45′, and the 151st meridian West of Greenwich bisects the island. See the section of Hervé's general chart, re-drawn by Baleato, in the pocket.

named it *La Pelada*: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan[1].

At nine the island *Orayatea*[2] came into view, bearing W. ¼ N.W., fourteen to fifteen leagues distant; and we headed towards it until nightfall, after which we stood off and on, making short boards under easy canvas, as the weather was inclined to be thick and squally.

At daybreak on the 10th we stood in towards the land, heading N.N.W. 5° W. At ten o'clock we bore up S.W. ¼ W. to pass round the South extreme of the island, succeeding in which we tried to reach close in under its western coast, as the Indian pilot told us the harbour lay on that side. An island the natives call "Porapora" now came into view, and lies in lat. 16° 30′ S. and long. 229° 47′, three leagues to the westward of the N. end of *La Princesa*[3]. We stood off and on all night, making short boards fairly close in with the coast, the wind being from E. to N.E.: and at half-past five in the morning of the 11th we bore up towards the N.W. until we got within a league and a half or two leagues of the land. At eight we lowered the yawl into the water and sent her in, armed, under the orders of Ensign Don Juan de Apodaca[4], who was

[1] Not reproduced. The latitude, bearing and distance from *Mo'orea*, are approximately correct but slightly under-stated: the longitude is again wrong. *Pelada* means denuded or bare. See p. 166, note 4.

[2] *O Ra'iatea.*

[3] *La Princesa* is the name Boenechea gave to *Ra'iatea.*

In the next paragraph Gayangos quotes *Porapora* as *San Pedro's*; and Andía y Varela states specifically, in his journal (*postea*), that this name was given to it by the expedition. Its latitude is here correctly stated, and the bearing quoted from "the N. end of *La Princesa*," by which in this instance we must understand *Tahaa*, is not much in error.

[4] This young Basque afterwards became a very distinguished officer, and eventually filled the highest administrative positions in the Navy and the State. He was created Conde de Venadito in 1818, while Viceroy of New Spain, and returned home to be Director General and Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. I have therefore given an outline of his career in the Introduction (vol. I, p. lvii); but the reader who desires more details of his life may consult Pavía [Bibl. no. 85], Fernández de Navarrete [Bibl. no. 38 (a)], and the fuller biography by his own nephew Gabriel [Bibl. no. 42 *ter*].

instructed to hold intercourse with the natives through the medium of the Indian pilot Barbarua[1], and to make an examination of the harbour, in which we were assured an English frigate had anchored on three separate occasions.

About this time we sighted an island the natives call "Maurua," which is in lat. 16° 30′ S. and long. 229° 35′, and bears E. and W. with *San Pedro's*. We named it *San Antonio*: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan[2].

The boat returned to the ship at five in the afternoon, and reported having communicated with the natives of *Orayatea*, surveyed the harbour, and made a plan of it on which its outline and extent and the quality of the bottom are shown. We passed the whole night standing off and on, with the wind at N.E., gusty, in order to keep in position for making the harbour in question; but, at eight o'clock on the 12th, the prevailing wind being adverse for entering, the yawl was lowered away and sent in under the orders of Ensign Don Nicolas de Toledo to look at a bay that bore the appearance of being a good one, and was situated to the south'ard, between the above mentioned harbour and the South end of the island. At four o'clock in the afternoon she returned with the information that the bay in question is studded all over with rocky patches which entirely unfit it for resort, and that a barrier reef stretches in front of it[3].

We passed the night standing off and on, with the

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[1] 'Barbarua' is an impossible spelling for a Tahitian name. In the several copies of Andía y Varela's journal [Bibl. no. MSS. 5, 9, 10, 12 —and Printed Books 7 (*b*), 47 (*c*), 94 (*b*)] it occurs variously as 'Mabarua,' 'Mavarua,' and 'Matarua.'

[2] Not reproduced. The summit of *Maurua* (now also called *Maupiti*) is in lat. 16° 26′ 30″, and its bearing with *Porapora* is W. and E.

[3] These particulars are insufficient to identify the bay by: there are three passages through the reef in the tract mentioned. The plan suggests the bay of *Tetoroa*, however, which is not a good spot, nor is the *Tiano* passage that leads into it. The best entrance they could have made for is *Rautoanui*, but with the prevailing easterly winds it is difficult of access for sailing-ships.

wind from the first quadrant; and at half-past seven in the morning of the next day [13th] the Comandante summoned all the officers to meet in Council. He called our attention to the persistence with which the wind continued contrary for taking the harbour, and to the Indian pilot's statement that it usually is so at this season of the year; he then asked our opinions as to whether it would be proper or no to await a fair wind to go in with, and so carry out what was required of us by the Instructions. And when we had all thought over the circumstances of the voyage, and the fact that we had to call again at AMAT's Island, and also that we might experience considerable delays during the voyage homeward to the port of El Callao unless the wind should favour us nicely, it was our united opinion that we ought to relinquish the attempt and return to the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*, seeing that we had already effected our principal duty at *Orayatea*. Our resolution was approved by the Comandante, and we accordingly shaped a course for that harbour, with the storeship in company.

The island *Orayatea* lies in lat. 16° 40′ S. and long. 230° 8′. It bears W. ¼ N.W. 4° N. four and a half leagues from *La Hermosa*, and we named it *La Princesa*[1]. It is

[1] Boenechea was not the first European discoverer of *Ra'iatea*, anciently called *Havai'i*, for Capt. Cook had already visited it three times and partially explored both sides of the island, although neither Wallis nor Bougainville sighted it. According to the anonymous account of Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour* [Bibl. no. 103, p. 65] Tupaia told Cook "that, in the lifetime of his grandfather, a ship had been wrecked on the island of *Uliateah* [*O Ra'iatea*], and that the few of her crew who were not drowned were killed by the inhabitants; and that, from this wreck, they had procured the first iron which had ever been seen among them, and formed it into chissels, knives, &c." I, too, heard a similar story related at Tahiti; but, being unacquainted at that time with the volume above cited, I understood my informant's statement to be derived directly from native tradition, and forbore from any attempt to trace it back to a more exact source or to challenge its authenticity. The elder Forster briefly quotes the same story, but alludes to the ship as a 'friendly' one [Bibl. no. 41, p. 516]. It is pretty clear, however, that the wreck of Roggeveen's *Africaansche Galey* in 1723 had become known in Ra'iatea and Tahiti,

mountainous, surrounded by a reef, well watered, highly fertile apparently, and easier of cultivation than AMAT's. It produces abundance of Coco-nuts, Plantains, *uru*, Hogs, and Fowls. Its natives are in all respects similar to those

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and that fragments of metal had reached these islands from that source, either by way of *Makatea* or of *Fakarava* and *Anaa*.

M. de Bougainville pretended to connect the word *auri*, used by the Tahitians to denote iron as contradistinguished from hard wood or stone, with the English word 'iron'—"qui se prononce *airon*," he explains; and assumes that they got their first iron from H.M.S. *Dolphin*, eight months only before his own visit [Bibl. no. 19, p. 232]. J. R. Forster hazards the view that *auri* was adopted by Pacific Islanders from the Spanish term *hierro* (= Lat. *ferrum*), and that thus mutilated it travelled eastwards across the ocean from the Philippine Islands, *viâ* the Ladrones [Bibl. no. 41, p. 367–8]. Neither of these theories will appeal to philologists; for, with our more extended modern knowledge of the various branches of the Malayo-Polynesian tongue, it does not seem requisite or reasonable that one should seek outside it for a derivation until its own compass has been exhausted. It is a rather significant fact that an exotic article, like iron, is called not by the same name but by many different ones in the several groups of islands inhabited by the Polynesian race. May this be explained by its first introduction at one place having produced a different impression on the native mind from that produced at another place? In one instance its colour may have struck the native eye as a distinguishing feature, in another its characteristic hardness may have determined the mental impression. The most ready simile for a tenpenny nail or any iron bar would, to a native who previously knew no metals, be a spike or pin of hard wood, or a length cut from the small straight stem of some young sapling. In point of fact *auri*, or *kauri* as it occurs in the Tuamotu islands, means not only 'iron' but a 'sapling'; and even an old iron cannon might be taken to resemble a small hollowed tree-trunk, to say nothing of a musket barrel being likened to a new variety of bamboo. The natives of *Huahine* carried their idea of the analogy between iron nails and carpenters' tools on the one hand, and the growth of the stems of plants or young trees on the other, so far, that the arch-*tahua* of *Hiro*, believing them to be products of the vegetable kingdom, actually planted a number of iron implements, that were abstracted from one of Capt. Cook's ships, in the soil of the famous *marae* at Tiva, expecting that they would germinate and fructify [Bibl. no. 4].

Other natives might pay more attention to the blackish colour of iron than to the rod- or stick-like form in which the first nail came before their eyes. 'Blackish' in Tahitian is *uri*; and *a*, being an indefinable prefix, *auri* might be thought to convey the idea of an unfamiliar "black stuff" whose colour attribute was its first and main distinguishing feature to attract the uninitiated native's attention. But iron probably reached the various oceanic populations from several independent non-native sources at sundry different times; so that the absence of a root-word for it common to all or most of the dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian stock should be regarded as significant rather than surprising.

of AMAT's Island. Its *arii* is named Tupuni[1], and many of the adjacent islands are tributary to him.

The northern portion of the island lies separated from the rest by a reef, which carries half a *vara* of water over it in places but uncovers at others. This part is distinguished by the name "Tahá[2]." The outline and extent of both portions, and also of the harbour situated in the district of Guamanino[3], will be seen on their respective plans.

On the 14th, at half-past eleven in the forenoon, an island appeared in sight bearing S. 5° W., distant twelve leagues, that the natives call "Manua," being situated in lat. 17° 53′ S. and long. 230° 31′. It lies 22⅓ leagues to the S. of *La Hermosa*; and the name *Isla de Pajaros* was given to it. It will be seen on the plan[4].

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[1] Cook and Banks call him "Opoony"—that is, *O Puni*. The latter describes him as "King of the *Tata-toa* or clubmen...the terror of all others" but in person "an old, decrepit, half-blind man, who seemed to have scarce reason enough left to send hogs, much less gallantry enough to send ladies" [Bibl. no. 10, p. 122]. Capt. Cook also writes of "his Stupidity, for such he appeared to be" [Bibl. no. 30, p. 116]. Puni was nevertheless a renowned and powerful Chief, ruler of *Porapora* originally, who brought *Maurua*, *Tahaa* and the greater part of *Ra'iatea* itself under his sway; *taata toa* means 'braves' or 'warrior clan,' and their leader was feared even in Tahiti as a daring marauder and something of a tyrant, though it does not appear that he ever pursued his advantages so far East.

[2] *Tahaa*, as now spelt.

[3] Intended for *Haamanino* (also thus quoted by Cook), a locality on the West side of *Ra'iatea* where the *Rautoanui* passage leads into the lagoon, and forms a placid (*manino*) harbour. See note 3, p. 163.

[4] This was a misconception. No land exists in the direction stated, nor anywhere near the position assigned, except *Tupuaemanu*, which they had already sighted and named *La Pelada* on Jan. 9, before reaching *Ra'iatea*. The two positions here quoted are some 33 miles from each other, and neither is correct even for *Tupuaemanu*, whose true latitude is 17° 38′, and long. 150° 37′, or about midway between Tahiti and *Ra'iatea* though South of the direct rhumb.

Andía y Varela makes no mention of *Tupuaemanu* on his passage towards *Ra'iatea*. But he declares that he "saw two other islands in the far distance" during the return voyage to Tahiti and that "one was called *Tupuemanu*, and the other *Emanu* or 'Isla de Pajaros'" (which is in fact the same, translated). This similarity of the names helps to affirm the identity of the two peaks as one island, which can only have been *Tupuaemanu* otherwise known as *Mai'ao iti*,

On the 15th, at half-past six in the morning, we sighted the South part of *Santo Domingo,* and a little later the N.W. extreme of AMAT's.

On the 16th, at daybreak, not being able to fetch round the North side [of Tahiti] owing to the wind being scant, we bore up towards the southern end. At half-past two in the afternoon, at which time we were becalmed, with the sails flapping against the masts, we experienced a violent eddy of wind which snapped our main-topsail yard at the tye and split the sail, without striking our for'ard gear at all.

On the 18th, our Comandante Dⁿ Domingo de Boenechea being overtaken by sudden illness of a grave nature, the holy sacraments of the Eucharist and Extreme Unction were administered to him.

On the 20th, our Comandante, finding himself further prostrated by the weight of his illness, and unable to give attention to his official responsibilities, deputed the command to me; and, the wind being favourable for making port, I signalled the storeship to see all ready for anchoring, which I succeeded in doing by two o'clock in the afternoon of that day, as did also the storeship shortly afterwards.

I moored the Frigate more under the shelter of the reef than before, with one anchor out South, and another to the

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and this last name has a close affinity to *Tapuae* in meaning. It was Capt. Wallis who discovered this island (in 1767) and he made a sketch of it (now in the possession of Sir Everard im Thurn) which shows very plainly the two bifid peaks that form its forest-clad main body. The highest point reaches an elevation of 780 feet only. They have a common base, surrounded by a low-lying fertile plain abounding with coco-nut palms, and beyond it a small lagoon within the sea-reef. *Cf.* Bibl. nos. 1 *bis*, 4, and 51, in the last of which an engraving reduced from the sketch appears as "Sir Charles Saunders' Island" [vol. 1, p. 491]. Wallis noticed that the heads of the palms were wanting, so that the island bore an appearance of having been swept by a hurricane. If the natives on board the *Aguila* mentioned this occurrence to the Spaniards it may account for their having named it *La Pelada*—'the denuded.' See also note 2, p. 190.

nor'ard supplemented by a kedge: and the storeship *Jupiter* brought up astern of me in similar fashion[1].

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at the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira* after our return from *Orayatea.*

Jan. 20th of the same year.

The *arii* Otu and Vehiatua immediately came on board with their following, and the Interpreter; and presented us with a quantity of fruit and some hogs, commending us highly for the speediness of our return. They were greatly disappointed at our not having brought them the *ava* shrubs they had so earnestly charged us to procure; but remained satisfied when they heard we had been unable to take the ship into harbour in consequence of contrary winds.

The Interpreter reported that these *arii* had treated them very well during our absence and had sent them fresh fish on most days; but that the *Padres* were much disconcerted by reason of the numerous concourse of Indians who had collected together at certain public pastimes, which began to take place on the day after our departure and became prolonged into a continuous orgie. All the company being desirous of seeing the mission house, the *Padres* were left no peace at any hour in the day; and, fearing that some bodily maltreatment might result to them out of the general uproar, they were for some days in a state of continual apprehension and watchfulness. They came to no actual loggerheads, however, notwithstanding the many excesses the natives indulged in during the course of the

1 The Diary of the missionary *Padres*, who remained on shore at *Hatutira* during the interval occupied by the Frigate and Storeship in visiting *Ra'iatea*, follows at a subsequent page (211) in this volume.

revels[1]. The *arii* of the District took his meals with our party on most days, and gave them so much of his confidence, that he handed them whatsoever things he had got, or acquired from us, for safe keeping.

One of the missionary *Padres* came on board and told us that, after the Frigate had sailed for *Orayatea*, the native Pautu came to them and threw himself at their feet with a great show of contrition, which, however, endured in him but a very brief while: for, after staying in their company three or four days, he took himself off again as soon as he had got them to trust him with the key of his chest, from which he surreptitiously abstracted the clothes.

Jan. 21*st.* I ordered Ensign Don Nicolas de Toledo to proceed with the boat, duly armed, to examine the harbour of *Matabay*; where, the Indians stated to us, an English frigate had lain at anchor on three separate occasions[2]. The *arii* Otu, Vehiatua, and Hinoi volunteered to go with him and guide him to the spot where the frigate had moored. The officer made a close and detailed examination of the anchorage, and prepared a plan of it; returning at ten o'clock at night on the following day with the *arii* mentioned, whom I thanked for their good services.

I gave orders to start all the water from the casks in the hold, as it had been found to be of very bad quality: and the work of watering afresh was begun in the course of the day, from a stream that flows down from high on the mountain side and is particularly pure, the men bestirring themselves to the utmost. The carpenters landed to set about repairing the main-topsail yard which had been broken by the whirlwind we met while returning from *Orayatea*.

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[1] *Cf.* the Interpreter's diary (in vol. III), January 15, 16, and 17, where he gives some particulars about this *taupiti* (festival)—or *taurua* as it was called in those days.

[2] *Viz.* H.M.S. *Dolphin* in 1767, *Endeavour* in 1769, and *Resolution* (with the *Adventure*) in 1773.

Jan. 22nd and 23rd. The main-topsail yard was brought on board, repaired.

The carpenters went to put some finishing touches to the mission house.

The lower rigging was set up, and all the running gear overhauled.

The launch made several trips with water, wood, and some green food for the live-stock.

The *arii* Potatau[1], who rules over the district of *Atehuru*, came on board with his relatives. He was the only one who had not already been to see the Frigate.

Jan. 24th. We completed our water: and the live-stock that came for that object were assigned to the *arii* and Indians of highest rank, in the name of the King our Lord, whom God preserve.

Jan. 25th. The Indians, observing that our departure was near at hand, brought quantities of all kinds of produce to exchange with our people.

The Comandante, being aware of the gravity of his illness, asked that the missionary *Padres* might come to him; and from this day forward they remained by his pillow, he having already made his will and received the last offices of the Church in the full consciousness that he was about to depart this life.

Jan. 26th. In deference to a memorial submitted by the missionary *Padres* representing that they found themselves under the necessity of cooking, carrying barrels of

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[1] This Chief, familiarly known to Capt. Cook and the Forsters as *Potatau*, and also so quoted by Gayangos in his narrative of the launch's voyage round the island in 1772 (see vol. I, p. 322, note 3), was really named *Pohuetea*. His portrait, drawn by Hodges in red crayon, hangs in the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich Hospital, with Tu's and others. It was engraved by Hall and forms Plate LVI in Bibl. no. 29. See also G. Forster [Bibl. no. 40].

water, and doing other menial offices not proper to their status, and being desirous of sparing them these constraints, I told off Francisco Perez, an ordinary seaman belonging to the crew of this Frigate, to take service with the memorialists, without prejudice to his claim for wages due or to become due: he having a handy knowledge of gardening, looking after stock, and other jobs incidental to the post.

At half-past four in the afternoon God gathered unto himself our Comandante, Don Domingo de Boenechea, attended and succoured in his last extremity by the missionary *Padres*; and at the same hour the ensign and jack were half-masted, while prayers for his soul were said aloud to God, accompanied by the tolling of the ship's bell: the body being forthwith laid out in the cabin with all the solemnity appropriate to his rank and person.

Jan. 27th. At eight o'clock in the morning the missionary *Padres* came, and, together with the ship's chaplains, chanted the *Vigilia* followed by mass, in the presence of the body of the deceased Comandante lying in State in the cabin: at which all the combatant and petty officers attended.

At nine o'clock the corpse was conveyed ashore, escorted by thirty marines with their lieutenant and ensign; and on quitting the side, the Frigate fired a salute of seven guns, corresponding to his rank.

[The funeral party being landed] the missionary *Padres*, carrying their cross and repeating the prayers customary [on such occasions], conducted the corpse, accompanied by all the combatant and petty officers of the Frigate and of the storeship, to the house of the mission settlement, in front of which the interment took place at the foot of the Most Holy Cross erected in token of possession.

An innumerable concourse of Indians gathered on the scene, to witness the interment; and they took it for very

seemly that the body was enclosed in a coffin, and that all the space forming the surface of the grave should be afterwards flagged over with stones.

The interment being concluded, we returned on board, together with the marines; and I issued an order to the storeship to hold herself in readiness to proceed to sea on the morrow at the same time as the Frigate should do so. I warned her captain that, in the event of the vessels becoming separated, he was to proceed on his course for the harbour of El Callao, and under no circumstances put into any Chilean or other port unless he should be obliged by some grave and very urgent contingency to do so: and that, in the contrary event, the freightage he was deriving at His Majesty's expense would cease to accrue to him from and after the date of so putting in.

In the afternoon the launch brought off the last load of fresh water, green stuff, and plantains for sea-stock; so that I was now all ready to proceed to sea on the following day, at any moment the wind might permit.

Jan. 28th. In the morning, early, it was reported to me that two of the ship's ordinary seamen were missing; and as they had answered to the roll-call overnight I concluded that they had slipped away in the water under cover of the darkness. The Caciques who were on board were informed of it, and immediately started in pursuit, assuring me that they would bring them off.

I took over three of the storeship's hands whom her captain charged with insubordination: and I transferred an equal number from my crew in their stead.

An infinite number of Indians wanted to take ship with us for Lima, and tried every means they could by which to gain their wish: even to stowing themselves away in the most out-of-the-way places. This obliged me to order a close search to be instituted, and they were all cleared out

of the ship excepting two of whom I had made choice, the one because he was very well acquainted with all the islands that lie to the eastward, and who was named Puhoro, the second, named Barbarua[1], because he was one of the principal persons of rank in the island *Orayatea*, being uncle by blood to the *arii* Otù, at whose special intercession I took him.

At ten the boat came off with the Caciques and the two seamen, whom they had secured; and, wishing to recompense their services with a couple of shirts, they took it much amiss and would on no account accept them, declaring that what they had done was but their bounden duty.

All the Caciques and most prominent personages among the Indians remained in our company until the moment of getting under way, showing many signs of grief at [the prospect of] our absence, and urging us again and again to come back to them later on.

At half-past eleven the wind set in from E.S.E., fresh, and I proceeded to sea without misadventure. The Indians quitted us in their canoes, with the exception of the two named above, who were very pleased at coming with us.

The storeship *Jupiter* followed in our wake, and when we had gained a good offing outside the reef I gave orders for the launch and the boat to be hoisted in, and proceeded on my course.

Note.

The prevailing winds at this season of the year were from South to East, and now and again from North to North West, hauling round on most nights more off the land.

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[1] See note 1 on p. 163. If this was really an uncle by blood (*tio carnal*) of Tu, he must have been a brother of the lady Tetupaia i Ra'iatea, Tu's mother.

High water was observed to occur at full and change of the moon between one o'clock and half-past one in the afternoon; and the greatest rise and fall was half a *braza*[1].

A stock of all the most useful seeds and plants the Realm of Peru produces was left with the natives of the island, as well as implements proper for their cultivation; and several kinds of cattle for breeding purposes.

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from AMAT's Island, performed by Senior Lieutenant Don THOMAS GAYANGOS, commanding the said Frigate, on her return towards the Port of El Callao with the storeship *Jupiter* in company.

I put to sea on the 28th of January, 1775, at a quarter before twelve in the forenoon, with a fresh breeze at E.S.E., and the *Jupiter* in company; and at one in the afternoon, being by that time clear of everything, I had the launch and the yawl hoisted in and we made a number of short boards to work past the South extreme of the island. In this, however, we were not able to succeed (in consequence of light and variable winds, with some squalls) until the 30th, when I stood away on my course towards the S.E. under all sail, with the wind from N.E.

On the 31st, observing the spar our main-topsail yard had been fished with when it was repaired in harbour to be sprung, I ordered the yard to be sent down and the spare

[1] A *braza*, or Spanish fathom, was equal to two *varas* or six feet: Burgos measure. It was therefore some 6¼ inches short of an English fathom; and half a *braza* here quoted, being the equivalent of a *vara* of Burgos, measured 32·875 of our inches. Half a *vara* would be more than the actual rise and fall at Tahiti, where the tidal phenomena are of an unusual kind, and the hour of high water remains practically the same every day, owing to the geographical situation.

one to be crossed [in place of it]. I continued on the same course, lying to every night for safety, in case of any unknown island or shoal, until the 4th of February when, the wind having hauled into the E.S.E., I was heading S. ¼ S.W.; and at eleven o'clock at night, presuming I had covered the distance within range of sight at the time of sunset, I hove to for the reason already stated, with the main-tack to port, until half-past five in the morning of the 5th, when I filled away and steered to the southward under all sail.

At six o'clock a bo's'n bird was seen, and at eleven an island came into view in the S.W. ¼ S. At noon the middle of it bore S. 30° W. by compass, distant six leagues; and the sun was observed at this hour, in lat. 23° 30′ S. At a quarter before five I had the topsails reefed, in order to pass the night making short boards so as to keep to windward of the island and reconnoitre it. At half-past five in the morning of the 6th I found myself abreast of the middle part of it, which then bore W. 28° S. about three leagues distant; and I bore up for it under a press of canvas to get near the northern coast-line. At a quarter to nine we saw a canoe come out from the shore as if making for us, and we hove to on the port tack, under the topsails only, to wait for her. When she had got within something like two musket-shots' distance they stopped paddling and sat still watching the frigate without venturing to come alongside, although our Indians called to them. I ordered the yawl to be lowered and armed, and sent Don Raimundo Bonacorsi away in charge of her to investigate the island, taking the said two Indians with him. He started off at ten o'clock and I followed him, under the topsails, to watch his movements. When the Indians in the canoe saw the boat quit the ship's side they paddled with all their might for the shore; but seeing they were being overtaken they paused with their paddles and spoke

to our ones, without these understanding more than the word *arii*, which in the language of AMAT's Island signifies Cacique: so the boat proceeded on towards the island. At half-past eleven, seeing that she was then getting into close touch with the shore, I wore round and lay to on the port tack in full view of her, about a league distant.

At midday the sun was observed in lat. 23° 51′ S.

The boat arrived back alongside at one in the afternoon; and after hoisting her in I proceeded, steering towards the South with a fresh breeze at E.; and the officer sent in charge made me the following report:—

'That he had much ado to get in through a small opening [in the reef], but ultimately succeeded in anchoring at a distance of half a cable's length from the beach opposite a bit of a bay, where about 400 or 500 Indians of all sexes and ages were grouped, shouting and hullaballooing, without venturing to approach the boat, until one of them more bold than the rest threw himself into the water, and on coming within a moderate distance burst out with the word *Tamay!* which in the language of those of AMAT's Island means 'fight.' Our two Indians replied in their own tongue, and with signs of friendliness, that our intentions were peaceful; he then came right up to the boat, and having managed to clamber into her—and finding that he was well received—he set to a-dancing and cutting capers and yelling with delight, at the sight of which so many of them took to the water and swam out to the boat in the hope of getting on board of her that our people saw themselves obliged to repel them with feints and blows. But finding this treatment failed to instil any fear into them, and that they did not desist in their efforts, they hove up the grapnel and lay off under oars some distance farther out to make it more difficult for the Indians to reach them. They are so daring, and such thieves, that they collared the coxswain of the boat and likewise the Master's ap-

prentice cheek by jowl and snatched the caps off their heads, diving hurriedly into the sea and making off with their booty to shore, where they skipped about with delight at their exploit. Others grabbed the oars and strove to carry them off: in short, they had no other aim but to rob and make off with any of the many objects, so strange and unwonted in their sight, that met their eyes. Our people got a string of mother-of-pearl shells from them, such as they are accustomed to wear round the neck, a paddle, and a spear made of very good wood which looks as if turned in a lathe[1], for the gift of which they made

[1] The natives of the Austral Islands—of which (if we consider *Rapa* as separate from that group) *Ra'ivavae* is the easternmost—used to be noted for the regularity, neatness and finish, with which they made their weapons, as well as for the workmanship bestowed on their canoes, and the excellence and artistic patterns of their cloth. "Fine hatchets come from thence to *Ra'iatea*," said Tupaia [Bibl. no. 41, p. 522]. Lieut. Cook, writing of *Rurutu*, which Tupaia named to him as *O Hitiroa* [Bibl. no. 30, pp. 119–121], declared that "their Arms, and in general everything they had about them, were much neater made, and show'd great proofs of an ingenious fancy" in comparison with similar objects he had been accustomed to see at Tahiti.

Banks added his testimony to the same general effect, but in more particular terms, and described the "parti-coloured fringes depending from the gunwales" of their canoes, mentioned by Gayangos at p. 179, as "two lines of small white feathers placed on the outside of the canoe" [Bibl. no. 10, pp. 124–6].

Ra'ivavae and *Rurutu* are a little more than 200 miles apart; but *Tubuae*, lying about midway between them W.N.W. and E.S.E., no doubt facilitated communication (for good or ill) according to the season and the winds. This last-named island was discovered by Capt. Cook in the *Resolution* in 1777; and he wrote of the canoes there that they "appeared to be about thirty feet long, and two feet above the surface of the water as they floated. The fore part projected a little, and had a notch cut across, as if intended to represent the mouth of some animal. The after part rose with a gentle curve to the height of two or three feet, turning gradually smaller, and, as well as the upper part of the sides, was carved all over. The rest of the sides, which were perpendicular, were curiously incrustated with flat white shells, disposed nearly in semicircles, with the curve upward. One of the canoes carried seven, and the other eight men; and they were managed with small paddles whose blades were nearly round. Each of them had a pretty long outrigger" [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 7].

Tubuae was visited in 1817 by Ellis, the missionary, who described the canoes he saw then as "generally sixteen or twenty feet long," their sterns "being considerably elevated" and "ornamented with rude carving, and, together with the sides, painted with a kind of red

return with some small knives and some nails, whose use and application these natives were ignorant of. Our Indians talked all the time with a very composed old man, of whom they asked various questions at the instance of the officer, in pursuance of the duty committed to him ; and although they were unable to follow his meaning in a long speech, they understood from several loose words that they had never seen any other ship, and that there was no other land known to them anywhere near at hand: that the island was called 'Oraibaba[1]': and the *arii* who rules over it is Tarabaroai. They asked what we called our country, and when we told them 'España' they all repeated its name with much shouting.

'The officer in charge then seeing, from what our Indians told him, that to learn more about those natives would be

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ochre, while the seams were covered with the feathers of aquatic birds" [Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, pp. 53–4].

Elsewhere it is recorded that the Austral islanders used to fix a gaily coloured and figured strip of cloth to their canoes, in the nature of a valence or flounce hung outside the gunwales ; but my note of the reference from which this statement is quoted has been mislaid.

It will be seen in Andía y Varela's journal (*postea*) that he writes of the canoes as "painted along the gunwales" and built of *toa* (*i.e. casuarina* or iron-wood). More probably it was *tamanu*, especially as he compares its appearance with mahogany ; but the evidence of a superior type of workmanship, carving, and ornamentation having been observed by early visitors to the Austral Islands cannot be questioned, and suggests a closer or more recent kinship between their natives and the Maoris of New Zealand than is manifested by the Tahitians. This idea is controverted, however, by the absence of tattooing among the eastern Australs, and perhaps, too, by the existence at *Ra'ivavae* and *Tubuai* of grim effigies of the human figure, both small and large though not colossal, carved in stone in the same fashion as those at Easter Island, the rough and boorish behaviour of whose natives towards early explorers corresponded with the Spaniards' reception at *Ra'ivavae*, and was in contrast to the milder manners of the Tahitians. The reader is further referred to Moerenhout's remarks on his visit to this island and *Tubuai* in 1834 [Bibl. no. 73, vol. I, p. 140 and vol. II, p. 333 &c.].

[1] *O Ra'ivavae* is written *Oraibabae* by Andía in his journal (*q.v.*) and he gives the name of its *arii* as *Toraberobari*, and *Teraberobari* in different copies. Possibly *Teraverave arii* is what the natives said; more likely, following Gayangos' spelling, *Teraveroa arii*. One reading has *Jarabaroai*, which is doubtless the work of a wicked scribe.

no easy task, inasmuch as they could only understand a word here and there, and that in spite of his having lain off farther from the beach the numbers of those who came off in no wise diminished, all bent on climbing into the boat with determination and audacity, he decided to retire to the frigate. For although he considered that their hardihood proceeded rather from curiosity, and eagerness to possess our things, than from any really evil intent, the necessity to use our arms as a last resource for avoiding a disturbance was becoming more and more pressing; and, since it was not his desire to do them any violence, he took it his best course was to get away altogether.'

The island referred to lies in lat. 23° 55′ S. and in long. 234° 5′[1]. It is hilly, but not very rugged, well timbered, and surrounded by a reef within which is a broad lagoon. Its verdure and reddish-coloured soil make it appear very fertile, to the view: *euru*, plantains, and other fruit-bearing trees could be distinguished. Its natives are somewhat fairer skinned than those of AMAT'S, and there are some amongst them who look like Europeans in hue. They wear the beard long, the hair short and tied into a knot on the upper part of the head so as to form a tuft, and they have large perforations in their ears. They clothe themselves with wraps like those of AMAT'S. No village nor even a single house was seen along all the northern shore, nor more than five or six canoes; these were twin-hulled and better constructed of better wood than those of AMAT'S Island, and were ornamented with parti-coloured fringes depending from the gunwales. There was nothing to indicate that they make use of sails. This island appears to be thickly peopled.

From AMAT'S it bears S.S.E. 6° 30′ E. distant 135 leagues[2]:

[1] This latitude is correct: the longitude quoted is a clear 5° too easterly, as usual.

[2] The bearing and distance quoted are inaccurate.

its configuration and extent will be seen on the plan, with the name of *Santa Rosa*[1].

At half-past six I took two reefs in the fore- and main-topsails, and furled the mizen one, continuing on

[1] Gayangos and Andía have not hitherto received the public credit which is their due for this discovery. Where it is mentioned in print at all it is vaguely attributed to "the Spaniards"—except in three instances I have met with, viz. Bratring, Moerenhout and Meinicke [Bibl. nos. 20, 73 and 67]. Some writers have confused it with an alleged earlier discovery said to have been made some 14° farther South, by the master of a Spanish brig bound from El Callao to Chiloé, in the year 1714, which M. Pingré says was recorded in a printed pamphlet by a shipmaster of Saint-Malo, one Bénard de la Harpe, who heard of it from Capt. Marion Du Fresne of the *François* of Saint-Malo who had read the Spaniard's journal at La Concepcion [Bibl. no. 118, p. 70]. But this must have been an imaginary discovery, since no land lies near the latitude named (38°) anywhere between the Chilean coast and New Zealand. Nevertheless it was placed on the charts (between the long. 108° and 109° W. of Paris) and, so long afterwards as 1785, La Pérouse was instructed to search for land or islands in that position [Bibl. no. 112, vol. I, pp. 88–90]. The same explorer was also enjoined to verify or disprove this discovery of *Ra'ivavae*—"Iles qu'on dit avoir été vues par les Espagnols, en 1773, par 32 degrés de latitude Sud, et 130 degrés à l'Ouest de Paris," as reported by Captain Croizet from information derived through one of M. de Surville's officers who had been detained at Lima [*loc. cit.* pp. 91–93]. Capt. Cook also had the same defective report from Capt. Croizet [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, p. 274 and II, pp. 267–8] and it looks rather as if all these officers and the Comte de Fleurieu had been led into a misconception by the transposition of the figures 23°, indicating the latitude of *Ra'ivavae*, by which they became 32°, and thus gave rise to much vain speculation and waste of argument. The whole question of the reputed earlier discovery in lat. 38° is shrouded in mystery, and recalls the still earlier one attributed to Juan Fernández by Dr Arias. Nevertheless, if we may believe 38° to have originally been a misprint for 28° both the lat. and the long. would point to Easter Island.

Ra'ivavae was sighted on Oct. 23, 1791, by Lieut. W. R. Broughton commanding H.M. armed tender *Chatham*, while on his way from New Zealand to rejoin company with the *Discovery*, under Capt. Vancouver, at Tahiti. Not being sure of his position Lieut. Broughton assigned no name to the island (which was then practically unknown to the world), believing that it might prove to have been *Tubuai* that he saw, already visited by Cook in 1777; but he reported the circumstance to his commodore, and the fact is recorded in Vancouver's narrative [Bibl. no. 121, vol. I, p. 94]. Admiral Krusenstern, in his *Mémoires* [Bibl. no. 58 (a), Part I, p. 28] names Broughton as the original discoverer of *Ra'ivavae*—or *Vavitoo*, as he calls it—and this statement, copied by Findlay [Bibl. no. 39 (a), vol. II], has been adopted in the Admiralty Sailing Directions [Bibl. no. 1 *bis*, p. 31] down to the present time. The journals of Lieut. Gayangos and Andía now brought to light put back its discovery sixteen and three quarter years and quote the island by its true name.

my course until nine o'clock at night, when I hove to with the fore- and mizen-tacks to port: at five in the morning I filled on my course S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.E.

At eleven o'clock I signalled the storeship to come within hail, and when she ranged up I gave her captain the order to issue full rations to his crew from the following day, as the wind was favouring us and I reckoned he had provisions enough for the voyage.

From this day we began sailing through the night-time, observing all the precautions necessary in unknown seas. The variation was found to be 11° N.E.

The 16th.—I hailed the storeship and directed her captain to come on board of me that I might take him to task in regard to certain slackness I had noticed on his part as to making all the sail possible to keep up with the frigate, in consequence of which the voyage was being tangibly prolonged; and, after warning him that he must pay every attention and take more care to watch the movements and signals of the Frigate, he returned to his vessel[1].

On the 23rd, the wind being fresh from the eastward, with much swell, I ordered the topgallant yards to be sent down, and made a signal to the storeship to keep in close company. At half-past six in the evening, when she was at her usual distance, a third reef was taken in the main-topsail and I held on under that and the two courses until 9 o'clock at night, when we handed the topsail, as the gusts were very strong. The storeship was still at her usual distance when day broke, being a little to leeward: the wind blew fresh from E., and harder in the gusts; and the sky

[1] See the Introduction, vol. I, p. xlvi, on the relations between Gayangos and Andía. It is a fact that the storeship parted company from the frigate both on the outward and on the homeward voyage; but there is no evidence that this was intentionally done, and there were weighty reasons well known to Andía why they should have kept together. *Cf.* his journal, of even date.

was overcast, with heavy rain-squalls looming round. On this account I kept under short canvas as before; but the storeship, being to leeward, set her main-topsail about two o'clock in the afternoon and had resumed her station astern of us by nightfall, when I ordered the stern-lantern to be lit and had it kept burning all night to assist her in keeping company.

The 24th.—Morning dawned cloudy with the wind fresh, from the E.; and the storeship was nowhere to be seen. As there was still no appearance of her at 8 o'clock in the morning, and believing that if she had carried on all night with her main-topsail as we saw her at nightfall she ought now to have the weather gauge of us and be somewhat ahead as well, I loosed the topsails with three reefs in them, but only hoisted the main one, as that was all that the wind would allow. At noon I ordered a good look-out to be kept from the tops, but nothing could be seen of the storeship. I got no observation; my reckoning placed me in lat. 42° 8′ S. and long. 235° 23′ [29′ ?].

On the 26th, at a quarter to five in the afternoon, we saw a large seal: the wind being then fresh, from the N.E., weather thick, overcast and cloudy, with little sea, and the ship heading towards the S.E. under fore- and main-courses and topsails. At five o'clock I ordered two reefs to be taken in the fore- and main-topsails, and the mizen-topsail to be handed; and as the colour of the water appeared to me somewhat less intense I called for a cast of the lead. Finding, however, no bottom with a hundred and ten fathoms' line, the whole topsails were hoisted up and let draw. But knowing from trustworthy experience that seals never stray far from land, or banks[1], and having

[1] Instances of antarctic seals or their congeners wandering far from land are not wanting; and on the American side their habitat extends northward even to the Galápagos Islands on the equator. The *Aguila's* position at this time was, however, in mid-ocean; *Rapa* (in lat. 27° 36′, long. 144° 17′ W.) with the neighbouring Bass Rocks being

seen a number of white-breasted birds with ashen-coloured backs the previous day, I felt no doubt but that we were in the neighbourhood of some island, and I decided to pass the night making short tacks in order to secure myself against any dangerous landfall.

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the nearest land to her, and the Chatham Islands the next nearest. During her subsequent voyage, under Lieut. de Lángara, another seal was seen, this time in lat. 43° 21′ S. and 340 leagues from Chiloé—being about the same distance from the isles of Juan Fernandez. Many were seen from H.M.S. *Resolution* during her passage from New Zealand to Easter Island in 1774 (*teste* Cook and Forster) but always within the common limit of drift ice. The average limit of drift ice in this longitude is laid down on modern maps at lat. 51° or 52° ; but the extreme limit coincides with the parallels quoted by Gayangos and Lángara where they saw the seals, some five hundred miles farther North.

A credible European witness whom I met at Tahiti had resided for some time at *Tubuai* (which lies just on the tropic of Capricorn), and told me that a seal had been captured and eaten there. Another mentioned a seal having been caught at *Porapora*—1° North of Tahiti. Either seals or dugongs are known to the natives of the Fijian Islands, especially at Natewa Bay in Vánua Levu and at Gau. A highly observant and intellectual native of the latter, whom I knew intimately for twenty years and have every reason to trust, made a capital pencil sketch of one such from memory, in my presence. The head, large peering eyes, and whiskers, were very life-like, both as to form and expression ; the mammae were pectoral and the fore flippers resembled those of *otaria* ; but I cannot remember whether the caudal extremities followed those of this animal or of a dugong. The hide was spotted, rather than blotched. An account of a pinniped or siren visiting another island in the Viti Group was communicated some years ago by a native and printed in *Na Mata*. I made a translation of it which I sent to the late Sir William Flower ; and he gave his opinion that it was probably a dugong, because—as the story went—it fed upon some fallen ripe fruit of a *Carica papaya* that happened to be growing close to the part of the beach where it landed. Unfortunately I was never able to secure any teeth or bones of one of these visitors, whom the Fijians are sufficiently familiar with to have a recognised name for, and, like the Dutch, aptly term 'sea-dogs' (*Koli ni wai*). But the fact that instances of their being seen are particularised in the natives' memory, and legendary lore, indicates that they are not of very frequent occurrence ; and I do not doubt that the animals seen in Fiji, as well as in the Society and even Austral Isles, whether seals or dugongs, are merely waifs and strays from their normal habitat and must have traversed a vast expanse of ocean before reaching there : if this can happen once it can happen twice, or oftener. It is otherwise with those of the Galápagos Islands, for although these lie right on the equator they are only five hundred miles distant from the American continent, towards which there are islands named *islas de lobos*, or Seal Islands.

Next day, the 27th, at sunrise, the wind being from N.N.E., I resumed my course under all the sail I could carry, steering E. ¼ S.E. until noon on the 1st of March, when, the wind favouring me from the fourth quadrant, I began to diminish my latitude and followed an E.N.E. course, until the 11th. I then met with light airs from E. to S.E., but on the 12th a moderate breeze sprang up between N.W. and S.W. and we continued on the same course until the 20th of the month, when it was altered to N.E. ¼ N., and again, at four in the afternoon, to N.N.E., as the wind then hauled round more to the S. At a quarter past six we furled the topgallantsails and took in the fore- and main-stu'n'sails, and proceeded with all caution, to keep clear of the islands of Juan Fernandez. We cracked on again at five in the morning, and observed 10° 30′ variation N.E^{ly} as the sun rose. At this time I set the course N.E. ¼ N. in the hope of falling in with the gulf-weed or sea-wrack[1] from the coast, for, up to the present, we had met with no signs of being near to those islands except having experienced a few squalls.

On the 23rd I was sailing N.E., which was as close as the light wind from N.N.W. would allow, when we saw numerous eddies and ripples, and the colour of the water betokened shallows.

On the 27th, at seven in the morning, we began to see the gulf-weed, and from that time I steered N. ¼ N.W. to make the coast about *La Nazca*[2]: at noon I found my

[1] *Sargazo ò cochallullo.* Gayangos was probably thinking of the detached masses of *Macrocystis pirifera* (Turn.) with other kelp-weeds and sea-grasses commonly met with near the South American coast, in the region the *Aguila* was now entering. *Cochayuyo*, as it should be spelt, is a Quéchuan expression employed by Chileños and Peruvian seamen; and is compounded of *cocha*, the sea, and *yuyo*, herbage—especially kale [Bibl. nos. 2 *bis* and 9]. The *sargazo* or true gulf-weed is a different plant, confined to the northern Atlantic.

[2] *P^{ta} Nasca* is a promontory on the coast of Peru in lat. 14° 57′ S., rising abruptly to a height of 1020 ft. It therefore forms a good landmark for vessels making for El Callao from the South.

latitude to be 27° 45′ S. and continued on with light winds from the 2nd quadrant.

At daybreak on the 4th of April the water had paled in colour, as if over a bank; and next morning some patches of weed and some turtles were seen. From six o'clock I steered N. ¼ N.E. until noon, when having got an observation of the sun in lat. 14° 39′ S. I altered the course to N.E., in the hope of sighting land before dark. Some turtles, grey plover, and sand-pipers from the land were seen during the afternoon; and the colour of the water changed to a thorough 'longshore tint. We took in all the light sails at dusk; and, as the night proved a very clear one, stood on under the fore- and main-topsails and courses, observing every caution and keeping a good look-out. At eight o'clock *La Lechusa*[1] was sighted bearing N. about four leagues away, and I therefore bore up N.W. ¼ N. and made all sail again. At nine o'clock I sighted the Isle of *San Gallan*[1] right ahead about three leagues distant, or three and a half perhaps, and gave the order to steer N.W. ¼ W. At half-past ten the island bore due E., distant two to two and a half leagues, and I laid her head to the N.W. ¼ N. until four in the morning of the 6th, when I reckoned I was still a fair distance off the coast and I let her come up a point or two to N.N.W.

On the 7th, at daybreak, I was five leagues off; and at a quarter to eleven, the wind having died down to a calm, I dropped a kedge in 47 fathoms, dark grey ooze, and the *Palominos*[2] were noted to bear N.W. 3° N., with El Callao island bearing N.N.W. distant from two to two and a half leagues. At noon I observed the sun in lat. 12° 25′: at

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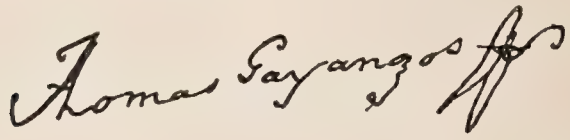
[1] *Pta Lechuza* is the cape off which the isle of *San Gallan* lies, about 110 miles South of El Callao, in lat. 13° 50′.

[2] The *Palominos* are a group of rocks a little to seaward of *San Lorenzo* island, outside El Callao roadstead.

a quarter past three in the afternoon I made sail with light southerly airs: and at sunset I was two and a half leagues from the North West extremity of the Island of *San Lorenzo*, which then bore N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.W. At half-past seven the same evening the wind hauled into the S.E. from over the top of the island, and after I had made a few boards to work up towards the roadstead the wind left me, at one o'clock in the night, entirely becalmed, and I let go a kedge again in 16 fathoms.

On board the *Aguila*, riding to a kedge in the harbour of El Callao: the 8th of April, 1775[1].



[1] The two memoranda which follow—"Information obtained" about other islands, and "Information regarding the English Frigate" occur in Gayangos' MS. as parts of, or addenda to, his Journal. They are therefore here printed with it.

In the list of islands the real names of those with which they are identified have been added, within square brackets [ ], for the reader's convenience; a comparison between these and the names enumerated by J. R. Forster [Bibl. no. 41, pp. 513–24] from Tupaia's reports to Capt. Cook, Banks and Pickersgill, may be usefully made.

INFORMATION OBTAINED

from the most trustworthy Indians of eminence in the Island of AMAT, checked by others of similar degree who, on our having put the same questions to them, were found confirmatory in everything.

Accounts of Islands to the eastward of AMATS[1].

Joaau [*Toau*].—Small and low, with a lagoon and reef, coco-nuts and yams plentiful: there are some pearls. Canoes from Tahiti occupy nine days in reaching them.

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[1] The islands here enumerated comprise the most considerable of the north-western atolls of the Tuamotu or Low Archipelago. *Makatea*, which is the nearest of them to Tahiti (120 miles) and stands somewhat apart from its neighbours, is the only one which rises more than 25 feet above the sea-level (excepting *Oeno* at the far S.E. end of the chain). It attains a height of 230 ft., being flattish on the top, but for one small knoll, and slopes downwards from N. to S.

Toau, *Apataki*, *Kaukura* and *Arutu'a*, all named to the Spaniards by the natives, form the cluster called by Cook the "Palliser Islands," in 1774; and probably include the same that Roggeveen sighted in 1722 and named *Avonstondt*, *Meerdere Zorg*, and *Goede Verwachting*, though it is possible this last was *Ra'iroa*. His description of the next he fell in with, taken with its latitude, identifies it with *Makatea*—"dat tamelyk hoog, maer vlak sonder gebergte was": with a shore-reef of sharp white coral, but no lagoon, in lat. 15° 43′. He named it *van Verkwikking* (refreshment or revival), because he obtained some purslain and scurvy-grass there [Bibl. no. 90, pp. 164–70]. See also Agassiz [Bibl. no. 2, pp. 56–64 of text] for a concise account of its physiography, and Wilkes [Bibl. no. 122, vol. 1, pp. 337–41] for a more general one with a steel engraving of the island in profile. It is now worked by an Anglo-French company for its phosphatic deposits.

O Ra'iroa is the *Fliegen Eyland* of Schouten, discovered by him in 1616 [Bibl. no. 119, p. 24]. Communication between it and Tahiti was maintained before Europeans visited these seas, the canoes often using *Makatea* as a port of call. It was reputed rich in pearls and dogs' hair; but some of the fish in its lagoon were apt to be poisonous. It, too, was visited by Wilkes in 1839.

Guaraba of the Spaniards is *Fa'arava*, locally *Fakarava*. It was accounted populous and rich by the Tahitians, and enshrines the ancestral hearth of their ruling Chiefs, Tu and the Pomares [Bibl. no. 8]. It is now the seat of the French Government in the Tuamotu Group. Its lagoon is more than thirty miles long and averages twelve in width, being exceeded in area only by *Ra'iroa*, though *Makemo* (which is much less broad) is some 42 miles in length. Agassiz described *Fakarava* very fully [Bibl. no. 2].

Opatay [*Apataki*].—Small and low, with a reef. Inhabited. Some pearls; and canoes take one day from Joaau.

Tabau [*Niau* or *Kauehi*?].—Small and flat, with a reef. Inhabited. Barren of produce, but fish and pearls in plenty. Canoes belonging to Joaau resort to it for the fishery, and occupy one day in reaching it.

Tayaruro [*Taiaro*].—Small and flat, with reefs. *Idem* in everything as the last.

Auroa ['*Au'ura*, *i.e.* *Kaukura*].—Large, but smaller than AMAT'S. It is low, but abounds in coco-nuts, yams, dogs with good coats, and pearls. It has many reefs, and is thickly peopled. Canoes occupy one day in reaching it from Taiararu.

Oarutua [*o Arutu'a*].—Very small, and flat with reefs. Abounds in fish and pearls. Its inhabitants are extremely few in number: and it lies near the last one.

Tapuhoe[1] [*o Anaa*].—Is the one we call *Todos Santos* and explored, in the belief that it was *Matea*. Coco-nuts and yams are plentiful, and it has some pearls. The Tahitians say that its inhabitants are a bad lot of people.

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[1] *Tapuhoe* appears to be the ancient name of *Anaa*, or of some part of it: *cf.* p. 117 and note. It is quoted by Capt. Cook [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 176] and at least one other writer among his shipmates. A half-caste Tahitian skipper of whom I enquired about it instantly recognised the name, but was not sure to what island it belonged.

If *Tapuhoe* is the same as *Anaa* the island named to Gayangos as *Oanà* remains in doubt, and may be a repetition; but the others cited to the eastward, with the exception of *Tabau*, can be definitely identified without difficulty. See also Boenechea's list in vol. I, at p. 306.

It is pretty obvious to persons who know the islands and the natives, that some of these descriptions were not supplied by eye-witnesses; and it further appears as if some of the particulars given had been (unintentionally) suggested by leading questions put by the enquirer. Thus *Auroa* (*Kaukura*) possesses no features to justify a comparison with Tahiti; nor is *Makemo* "small" when compared with the rest, being in fact the longest of all except *Ra'iroa* and better supplied with dry land than most. *Makatea*, again, is described as "high like *Morea*," whereas, although it is decidedly high in contrast to the Tuamotu atolls, *Mo'orea* is no less than seventeen times higher than it. One may presume, too, that in some cases the natives may have had in mind as "islands" only the islets of dry land on the various atolls—and considered the submerged portions as mere reefs.

Guaraba [*Fakarava*].—Of the size of *Tapuhoe*, and identical in all respects. Canoes take two days from *Tapuhoe*.

Maemo [*Makemo*].—Small and low; coco-nuts, yams, dogs, fish of all kinds, and pearls are plentiful. It is surrounded by a reef: its inhabitants are of a mild disposition. From *Guaraba* to *Maemo* canoes take three days.

Maropua [*Marutea*?].—Small, low, with reefs. Coco-nuts, yams, dogs, and fish are plentiful. Its people are bad. From *Maemo* to *Maropua* takes two days.

Oanà [?].—Small, and low, with reefs. Coco-nuts, yams, dogs, fish are plentiful, with a few pearls. It is inhabited; and from the last named canoes occupy two days[1].

Orairoa [*o Ra'iroa*].—Large and low, with reefs. Has three bays for small vessels but bad bottom. Coco-nuts, yams, dogs, fish and pearls are plentiful; and its people are very tractable.

Otiehao [*o Tikehau*].—Small, flat, and with reefs. It has coco-nuts, yams, dogs, and much fish. Its inhabitants are a good people and make excellent mats. It lies within sight of the last named.

Mataiba [*Matahiva*].—Small and low, with reefs. There are fowls, dogs, yams, much fish, and some pearls. Its people are good; and it lies within sight of the last named.

Matea [*Makatea*].—High, like *Morea*: surrounded by a reef. *Urus*, coco-nuts, plantains, fish, and good pearls are plentiful. Their canoes occupy two days to reach *Maitu*. The storeship *Jupiter* sighted it, which happened in lat. 17°, in a direction N.E. 8° N. from *Maitu*[2].

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[1] J. R. Forster associates "*O-ànna*" as quoted by Tupaia with Roggeveen's "Pernicious" (*Schadelÿk*) Island [Bibl. no. 41, pp. 517–8]; but in this I cannot concur, without better evidence.

[2] This could not really have been, for by his own showing Andía was never within ninety miles of *Makatea* (*cf.* his journal, 5th and 6th of November). It has a shore-reef but no barrier; and its true bearing from *Mehetia* (*Maitu*) is N. 5° W.

Note.

The Chiefs of Tahiti state that all these [foregoing] islands are tributary to them; and that none excepting *Matea* has any water upon it, the inhabitants of them making use of *cazimbas*[1] to supply themselves from. The Indian named Pujoro, whom we have on board, is well acquainted with all of them, and says he has cruised among them several times in quest of pearls.

Islands to the westward of AMAT'S[2].

Teturoa [*Tetiaroa*].—Small and low, with reefs, plenty of coco-nuts, pigs, pearls and fish. It has many pearls but of bad quality. It belongs to the *arii* Otu, and lies within sight of the northernmost part of AMAT'S. It was seen by us.

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[1] A South American term of Quéchuan origin meaning a water-hole or well dug near the beach, in which usable though somewhat brackish water collects.

[2] The identification of the islands whose names here follow is perfectly plain (excepting the case of *Manua*) as far as to and including *Oaiyu* (*i.e. Atiu*, the chief one of the Hervey Islands of Cook). The descriptive notes given are, on the whole, true and characteristic; but some of the names beyond *Oaiyu* are unrecognisable, and there is a mystery about this *Manua*. It was mentioned to Cook and Banks, and also to Forster [Bibl. no. 41, p. 513], being described by Tupaia and others as lying "N.E. of O-Hitte-roa," *i.e. Rurutu*, where no land exists. It was said to be inhabited by ogres—"ferocious inhabitants with wild and furious looks, and eating men"—and to possess few canoes [Bibl. no. 41, p. 515]; and there is reason to think it has been confused with, or is the same as, *Tupuae Manu*, where cannibalism was formerly reputed to be practised, and whirlwinds were of frequent occurrence. Both Gayangos and Andía make mention of *Manua*, which they state was seen from their vessels while on the passage back from *Ra'iatea* to Tahiti: Andía quotes it as '*Emanu*' however, and it is significant that the name bestowed upon it by Boenechea was *la Isla de Pajaros*, which is *Manu* translated, *i.e.* Isle of 'Birds.' The position they assigned to it was only 22 miles S. and 15 miles W. of where they placed *Tupuae Manu*, which they say they saw at the same time. The latter has two summits, and, when viewed from afar on certain bearings, they may easily be mistaken for separate islands. *Cf.* note 4 on pp. 166–7. Wallis, who discovered *Tupuae Manu* in 1767 and sketched it, tells of no other land in sight at the time, nor is there any in fact; and *Tupuae's* other name—*Mai'ao iti*—is not susceptible of confusion (in sound) with such a word as *Manua*.

Tupuaemanu [*Tupuae Manu*].—Small and low, with reefs. Coco-nuts, plantains, *e uru*, dogs, pigs, and fowls are plentiful, and so is good water. Its inhabitants are very tractable: its *arii* is named Oahau. Seen by us.

There is an island called *Manuai* in the Hervey cluster, quite near to *Atiu*; but the only *Manua* that has come to my knowledge lies much farther West, in the Samoan Group, and is accounted the place from which the Makea family of ruling Chiefs at Rarotonga originally emigrated.

Of the names which follow after *Atiu*, *Rarotoa* is of course Rarotonga; and *Ponamu*—the Maori name of the middle (now styled South) island of New Zealand certainly points to that country, of whose communications with Tahiti in remote ages there is anthropological as well as traditional evidence. *Teonetapu* is obviously meant for Tongatabu; and *Oaitahu* is without question *Vaitahu*, a village in Resolution Bay of Cook (=*Madre de Dios* bay of Mendaña and Quiros) in the island these latter called *Santa Cristina*, but whose proper name is *Tauata* and which was in ancient times the landing-place usually sought by canoes arriving in the Marquesas Group from Tahiti and *Ra'iroa* or *Fakarava*.

The identification of *Genua teatea* is less easy; but I consider it most likely to indicate some part of New Zealand. *Genua teatea* means "white land"—*G* before *e* in Spanish orthography is an aspirate; and *Henua* (or *Fenua* in some dialects) means 'land' throughout Polynesia. G. Forster tells us that when *Mahine*, the Tahitian youth who went in the *Resolution* in 1773, first saw an ice-field, with bergs, in the high latitudes after leaving New Zealand, he called it *Whennua teatea*, as Forster spells it [Bibl. no. 40, vol. I, p. 530]; and it seems natural to believe that in describing the snow-covered mountains he had seen in New Zealand—but never anywhere else—Mahine applied the same term to those tracts, when relating the wonders of his voyage to his fellow-countrymen after his return to Tahiti. (Cf. *Aotea*.)

This idea suggests that some others of the more remote islands cited by the Tahitians to the Spaniards at this time had come to their knowledge only a few months before, from the stories discoursed by this same Mahine, otherwise Hitihiti (Oedidee of Cook, and Ohititi of Gayangos) who was a native of *Porapora* and landed from the *Resolution* at Tahiti on April 22nd, 1774 [*op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 51–2]. In fact Forster specifically relates how, when at *Ra'iatea* in June of the same year, O Rea, an *arii* of that island, "conversed chiefly of the countries we had lately visited, and of which he had received an account from his countryman Mahine." O Rea then proceeded, after dining with Captain Cook and drinking "about a bottle of wine, without appearing in the least intoxicated," to tell the company of an island which he declared they had not met with in their voyages, though "it lies," said he, "but a few days' sail from hence. It is inhabited by a race of giants as tall as the mainmast, and as thick about the middle as the drum-head of the capstan." He added a number of ludicrous remarks about the proclivities of these giants, and became "as usual, extremely facetious," observes Forster; but finally, "to give greater weight to his assertion," their jocund guest supplied them with the name of this wonderful island, which he said

Manua [?].—Larger than *Morea*. Coco-nuts, plantains, and *uru* are plentiful. There is a reef within which is a capacious roadstead with good bottom. It is not inhabited because, they say, it is subject to whirlwinds which swamp canoes. It was sighted by us.

Oahine [*Huahine*].—Like *Morea*. Plenty of *uru*, plantains, coco-nuts, pearls, pigs, and fowls: is thickly peopled, and possesses two bays very good for large ships, with a river in one of them. Its inhabitants are very well disposed and own very good canoes. They say that an English ship lay ten days at anchor in one of the bays, and from what we could make out it was the most northern one, where there is an islet at its entrance; but both of them are on the West side of the island. Its *arii* is named Tahuaoha, and is tributary to the *arii* Opuni, who rules in *Orayatea*. It was sighted by us.

Oraiatea and Taha [*o Ra'iatea* and *Tahaa*].—These two islands are united by a small reef, having half a *vara* of water over it where deepest. There is a good bay on the western side, of horse-shoe shape, formed by reefs within which an English frigate anchored on three separate occasions. Both islands are equally productive of *uru*, coco-nuts, plantains, pigs, fowls and good water. The inhabitants are well disposed and in all respects similar to those of AMAT'S, with whom they keep up a close intercommunication. The *arii* is named Opuni. It was examined by us on the 9th of January '75: its configuration and extent will be seen on the plan, and likewise that of the harbour.

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was *Miromiro* [*op. cit.* p. 139]. Now *Temiromiro* is included in Gayangos' list, though only birds—not giants—are mentioned as its occupants. Can this be the mythic *Manua* again?

But one must not forget—as against the Mahine theory—that Tupaia gave information to Lieut. Pickersgill, then Master's mate of the *Endeavour*, in 1769, from which they jointly constructed a chart of the central Pacific on which the names and reputed approximate positions of more than eighty islands were laid down; and that Tupaia's knowledge included such outliers as Savaii, Upolu, Tutuila, Uea, Rotuma, Vavau, Niue, besides many members of the Marquesas, Tuamotu, Austral, central Pacific groups, and likewise Fiji (*O Hiti, Te atu Hiti*). The chart in question is preserved in the British Museum and a counterpart of it (not an exact copy) was engraved for Forster's *Observations*, where it appears at p. 513 [Bibl. no. 41].

Porapora [*Porapora*].—Small and elevated, surrounded by reefs, with a passage on the S. side through which they say a large ship can enter. *Uru*, coco-nuts, plantains, dogs, pigs, are in plenty; and there are a few pearls. It is well populated and belongs to the *arii* of *Oraiatea*. It was sighted by us.

Maurua [*Maurua*, called also *Maupiti*].—Low, with three high hills on it, surrounded by a reef, and produces coco-nuts, *uru*, plantains, pigs, dogs, and a few pearls. It has fresh water, and is inhabited. Belongs to the *arii* of *Oraiatea*, lies to the westward of Porapora, and was sighted by us.

Mopihà [*Mopihaa*].—Of middling size and low, with a reef. Produces coco-nuts and pearls, but is not inhabited. They say there are birds of large size there in great plenty, which do not fly[1]; and they visit the island to catch them for eating, as they are very fine-flavoured. Canoes from *Maurua* take two days to reach it.

Genuaora [*Fenua ura*].—Of middling size, flat, and with a reef. Has coco-nuts and the same abundance of birds as at the last named. Uninhabited.

Orimatara [*o Rimatara*].—Inhabited, and abounds in coco-nuts, plantains, and pigs.

Oaiyu [*o Atiu*].—Like the last in all respects.

Oahuahu [*Oahu*?].—Idem.....like the last.

Rarotoa [*Rarotonga*].—They say they know nothing more of it than that it is inhabited.

Tupuai [*Tubuai*].—Idem.

Puatireaura [?].—Idem.

Temiromiro [*Bellinshausen's Is*^{d}?].—Has no people, but abounds in birds.

Hoaituputupu [*o Waitupu*].—Idem.

Marere [?].—Is peopled.

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[1] Boobies and noddies. The tropic bird (*Phaëthon aethereus* and *P. rubricauda*) is seen about here in flocks: so are terns. Now and again a frigate-pelican soars in view.

Ponamu [*New Zealand*].—Is peopled, and has excessively high mountain peaks: is very barren of fruits, but has fish in the greatest plenty and this is the only support of its inhabitants, who are very rude and live in caves. The people of other islands near it are afraid to land there, because, they say, there have been several instances of strangers being killed and eaten by the natives.

Genua teatea [*New Zealand*].—Is inhabited by a white people who speak the same language as those of AMAT'S, and have the same appearance; but it abounds in produce, and is larger[1].

Teonetapu [*Tongatabu*].—Inhabited.

Uritete [*Manuai* ?].—Of large size and productive, and its people very well disposed.

Oaitahò [*o Vaitahu, i.e. Tauata*, in the Marquesas Islands].—Is the largest of which any knowledge has reached them. It is high, very populous and productive: the people speak the same language as those of AMAT'S, and have the same appearance.

Oaurio [*o Auotu* ?].—Of this nothing but its existence is known.

Oaupo [?].—Idem.

Genua baro [?].—Idem.

Teputuroa [?].—Idem.

INFORMATION REGARDING

the English Frigate which has been at AMAT's Island on three separate occasions.

From repeated conversations we held with the Cacique Hinoi[2], who governs the district of *Matabai*, where the

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[1] See note, p. 191.

[2] The younger half-brother of Tu: *cf.* p. 137, note 2, and p. 151.

frigate in question[1] anchored, and with other thoroughly reputable Indians of the same locality with whom a close acquaintance was kept up, I conclude:—that,

The first time she was at this island was in the year '69, when she came by way of Cape Horn; and, after bringing up at the place aforesaid, erected a very roomy barrack [or shed] over which they mounted guard with marines, and inside of which they overhauled their sails and re-coopered their water casks[2]:—that,

They conducted astronomical observations, since they say that a number of persons from the frigate climbed to the top of a hill, and they give clear and distinct accounts of the octant and telescope with which the observers watched the stars:—that,

Their stay in the harbour was of two months' duration, a little more or less[3]; and that they kept up friendly relations with the *arii* of the district all the time:—that,

They made the circuit of the whole island in their boat, and examined the harbours[4]:—that,

The lower classes made an attempt on the barrack, which they assaulted with stones; but that having resorted to arms for its defence, and the frigate having opened fire upon them at the same time, many of the islanders were killed[5]:—that,

They put the *arii* Potatau who governs in *Atahuru*[6] under arrest on board, and clapped a pair of hand-cuffs

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[1] H.M.S. *Endeavour*, Lieut. Cook.

[2] Quite correct. [3] From April 14th to July 13th, 1769.

[4] Lieut. Cook with Mr Banks, in the pinnace, from June 26th to July 1st.

[5] This must relate to the *Dolphin's* visit in 1767: there was only a slight misunderstanding with Cook's people, and only one man, who had knocked down a sentry and made off with his musket, lost his life.

[6] See vol. I, p. 322, note 3.

on him, and that he gave them a quantity of hogs and produce for his liberty[1]:—that,

During her sojourn there they laid in wood, water, and hogs in exchange for hatchets, knives, and clothing, and when they were fully supplied they put to sea bound for the island *Oahine*, where they lay at anchor ten days, after which they went to *Orayatea*, and when they had explored it, sailed away to the westward[2].

As regards the second voyage it appears that the same Frigate came, with the same officers, by way of the Horn, in the year '73; and anchored in the harbour of *Hatutira* (now *Santa Cruz*) whence she sailed after five days' stay, for *Matabai*[3]. They say she left there because Vehiatua denied them the supplies they asked for[4], and that, when

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[1] Tutaha was detained a few hours by a lieutenant, in consequence of the astronomical quadrant having been stolen by a native; but he was liberated by Lieut. Cook the instant the latter found him in custody, whom Tutaha insisted on presenting with two hogs, for which an axe and a shirt were given in return the next day. On the eve of quitting Tahiti, however, Lieut. Cook himself ordered Tutaha to be detained, with Tepau i Ahurai Tamaiti, Purea, and two other Chiefs, pending the recovery of two marines who had deserted. On their release they urged him to accept four hogs, which he declined [Bibl. nos. 10, 30, 84 *passim*].

[2] Substantially correct, but the *Endeavour* stayed only three days at Huahine in 1769, and the *Resolution* only four in 1773.

[3] The ships this time were H.M.S. *Resolution* and *Adventure* (Capts. Cook and Furneaux) in August 1773; but several of their officers had been at Tahiti before, in the *Dolphin* and *Endeavour*.

[4] It does appear from the accounts published by Cook [Bibl. no. 29] and Geo. Forster [Bibl. no. 40] of that voyage that Vehiatua maintained an unlooked-for reserve towards his visitors, and that fresh provisions were not forthcoming. It may be that the friendly relations the Chiefs and people of *Tautira* had enjoyed so short a time before with the Spaniards, during the *Aguila's* first visit, caused them to consider the British as rivals and possible enemies of that nation and to regard their presence in the bay with distrust. If so, they would naturally withhold provisions from the ships, in the hope that their departure might thereby be hastened.

Another possible explanation of the scarcity is that a *rahui* may have been in force in *Taiarapu* at this time. A *rahui* was a general *tapu* or embargo on a particular class of produce, or even on all produce not indispensably required for current consumption. It was

leaving, they fired some shots at them with their great guns but that they suffered no injury whatever[1]. At *Matabai* they laid in water, wood, produce, and hogs, giving a hatchet for each of the latter and the same for every tree they cut down for firewood. The Frigate underwent some slight boot-topping, and after ten days, sailed for *Orayatea*, where they took on board an Indian named Ohititi[2] who wished of his own accord to go, and they proceeded to sea with him. Sailing westwards they fell in with most of the islands mentioned in the foregoing narrative as lying in that direction, many of which they explored with their boat; and after a passage of thirty days, a little more or a little less, they anchored at the Island of *Guaitaho*, one of the most westerly, largest, and most productive, where they built a barrack [or shed] on shore and maintained good relations with the inhabitants, to whom they gave numerous hatchets, knives, drapery,

imposed only by a great Chief, in consequence of some weighty event, usually in favour of a reigning child. Possibly the war which had taken place after the *Endeavour's* visit, but before the *Resolution's*, when Tutaha and Tepau i Ahurai were slain at *Taravao* by Vehiatua's father's forces, had been the incentive for a *rahui*, or it may have been brought about in connection with the death of the elder Vehiatua and the coming of age of his son. A *rahui* would account for no hogs being parted with except by Vehiatua himself; and as to bread-fruit, it was out of season in *Taiarapu* in August, and we know from Forster's narrative that the trees were not in bearing. Neither Capt. Cook nor any of his comrades would be likely to comprehend the nature of a *rahui*, or be aware that it had been imposed.

[1] Forster avers that Capt. Cook himself fired three musket-shots at a native in a canoe who had committed a theft on board the *Resolution*, and that the affray did not terminate before "a four-pounder directed towards the shore frightened the inhabitants sufficiently" and two double canoes had been seized. But perfect amity was restored and continued as long as the ships remained at *Vaitepiha* Bay [Bibl. nos. 29, 40].

[2] Also named Mahine. His portrait, drawn from life by Hodges, in red crayon, is at Greenwich Hospital, with Tu's and Potatau's and others. The remainder of this account is substantially true; but it exhibits errors in detail, and some notable omissions. For instance *Eoa* and *Tongatabu*, where the red feathers were obtained, are quoted as *Vaitahu*: and there is no mention of New Zealand nor of Easter Island.

and knick-knacks, in exchange for their wraps of bark cloth, mats, and feathers of various colours. The natives of that island are very docile, and lighter in shade than those of AMAT's, but use the same language with slight difference, and have similar garments and customs. There is no settlement there of any other sort of people but its own natives; nor did any person from the Frigate stay behind there. They stocked themselves with hogs, water, wood, and produce; and after they had lain three months in the harbour there they put to sea and made sail for *Orayatea*, where they arrived after forty days, a little more or less, and left the aforementioned Indian provided with a quantity of clothes and implements, and among them a barrel of gunpowder, a musket, and some ammunition, so that he might practise in his own home; that being the form of amusement for which he had shown the most inclination.

This being effected, they passed on to the Island of AMAT and anchored for a third time at *Matabai*; and while there obtained a stock of all kinds of produce of the island in exchange for the feathers they got at *Oaitaho*. After lying there in harbour some thirty or forty days the Frigate in question put to sea, a matter of two months or so before our arrival at *Santa Cruz* harbour, and made sail away in a southerly direction, from which it may be inferred that she returned [homewards] by way of Cape Horn.

Note.

We had no intimation that the Indian who sailed with the English to *Oaitaho* was living at *Orayatea*, until after our return from thence; for, had we known it, he might have informed me at greater length of the particulars of that voyage. Still, I am satisfied that what we did learn

is substantially correct, for in the contrary event I should have done better to omit what might easily pass for vapourings.

Representation

[from the missionary *Padres* to the Viceroy of Peru, with a postscript and two Enclosures[1]].

Most Excellent Señor,

Having, by Your Excellency's order, been brought to this Island of Amat in the frigate named *Aguila* with a view to the conversion of the idolaters, and to prepare at the same time an account of anything noteworthy that might be met with in the Island:—We state that, having put into the harbour called by the natives *Ofatutira* on the 27th of November in the past year '74, at two in the afternoon, the Captain of the said frigate decided on the following day that his lieutenant, Don Thomas Guaiangos should proceed ashore in company with ourselves and Maximo the marine, interpreter, and the Indian native of this island named Thomas, to look about for a suitable

[1] This document was met with in the *Archivo de Indias*, and is believed to be in the packet 112–4–11, but my reference has been overlooked. Being, with the exception of Gayangos' Order, a wholly illiterate composition I copied it word for word with all faults, and translated it afterwards at leisure. The word *arii* is spelt *Erỳ* in the MS. throughout; *Hatutira* is written *Ôfatutira*, and once *Âtutira*. Other peculiarities such as 'Guaiangos,' 'Vexiatua,' *geiba*, are here printed as written; but the palpable violations of grammar, and anomalies in syntax, have been necessarily rectified in the translation; while the correct spelling of *arii* is adopted in terms of note 1 on p. 13 of vol. I.

site on which to set up the building intended for our dwelling-house. Not finding any convenient spot, on account of the many pools and marshy patches that cover the extremity of a tongue of land a mile in length which stretches out so as to form a point, and on whose confines the people of the district live with their *arii* Oritumu—known by the name of his father, Vexiatua—we saw ourselves obliged to single out a plot of ground in occupation as a house site and garden, near the dwelling of the said *arii*. This involved the drawback of having to go more than three *quadras*[1] to fetch drinking water and fire-wood to cook with, although there is water for cooking purposes to be had a matter of one *quadra* distant. But this latter is the river, which on its western side is affected by the surge of the sea, owing to the lowness of the land, and whose water is by this means made brackish[2].

The house being roofed in by the 31st of December, our provisions were landed on that same day, and were put away in the store-room: this being the first night on which we slept on shore inside the house. On the following day, the 1st of January '75, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Holy Cross was brought ashore and was erected a matter of twelve paces in front of the house, on the stump of the palm which, at the moment it was felled, had deprived the seaman Basquèz of life. A procession was formed, and the Litany of the Saints chanted, tears of joy accompanying the voices at the thought of having raised the Cross to God three in one in a land which had lain unknown throughout so many years, drums beating the while, and the military shout of victory—*Viva el Rey*—being given. The first mass was then said, concluding with the *Salve*, which the missionary *Padre Fr.* Geronimo

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[1] A *cuadra* may be taken as 150 paces, or 139 English yards: see p. 128, note 2.

[2] *Cf.* p. 130, note 1.

Clota recited and sang. After having given thanks we returned to the Frigate, leaving hoisted the flag which we had brought from on board for the purpose, with Maximo the interpreter to keep watch over the house.

As to the character and disposition of the natives of the island we have found them to be naturally prone to steal, and to every kind of vice, taking satisfaction with their own hands, whether justly or unjustly, for every injury received. Nor do they subordinate themselves in any way to the *arii*, but recognise him only in so far as taking presentations of eatables to him for his use. If they fail in this obligation he banishes them from his territory; and in order to make good their return to it they go off into other Districts where they purloin, it may be canoes, or hogs, or wraps of native cloth made from certain saplings they manage to cultivate; and by means of these they regain his favour. But those who will not ransom themselves after this manner revolt against their *arii*, banding themselves together with their kinsfolk and friends for this purpose, and making a declaration of war, the signal for which is a big smoke. From this we believe them to be arrogant and overbearing; and in proof of their proclivity to theft, and at the same time of their high-handedness, we may cite what occurred on board the frigate on the 1st of January at nine o'clock at night; as well as two instances which happened, the one on the 11th of December in the past year, when they rose against the *arii* Oritumo[1] and he sought assistance from the *arii* Manajune[2], known by the name of Ôtù, who sent a brother of his to invoke aid from the Captain of the Frigate: and the other, the affair of the coxswain of the storeship's long-boat, who in recovering some linen or other that they had stolen received

[1] *i.e.* Vehiatua. See the postscript to this report p. 204, and note.

[2] Manahune was the name of one of Tu's ancestors [Bibl. no. 8]. The word means vassal or commoner.

a violent blow from a stone thrown at him, as the senior surgeon of the Frigate could testify. For this reason, on the 28th of December, the Captain of the Frigate, apprehending that they might rob the house, gave orders for a picket to mount guard over it; but the corporal of the guard, seeing how great a concourse of natives was assembling, asked to have his picket strengthened and the Captain thereupon decided that eight marines should be told off under the Lieut. of their company and Serjt Martinez, and furthermore had the launch got ready with two swivel guns, and muskets enough to go round the crew, with orders to anchor close inshore as near to the house as possible so that in case of need the picket might have a place to which they could retire for safety and be secure from danger.

And likewise one afternoon when we were alone, owing to Maximo Rodrigz having gone out to look for bamboos for fencing round the house, they threatened to assault us, and loaded us with shame; for, although we were not able to follow all they said[1] to us, we could not help understanding some things, which were rendered plain enough by their actions and the gestures they made at us.

As to the soil, there is nothing beyond fruit-trees such as palms, *Euros*, *Ebi*[2], and others we do not know by name. They live on the produce of the first, as well as on plantains. Of the rest of their fruits some seem to be a kind of chestnut[3]; and others more like walnuts, only of a different shape, burn with a flame[4]. None of the trees are of any considerable size; and we were informed by a person acquainted with such matters that they are not adapted

[1] *Cf.* Fr. Gerónimo's diary (pp. 216–17) and that of the Interpreter Máximo (vol. III).

[2] *Uru* (bread-fruit), and *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*, Forst.), the South Sea mango.

[3] *Ihi*, see p. 84, note 3.

[4] *Tutui*, candle-nut.

for shipbuilding, seeing that in the first expedition [of the *Aguila*] they only got out a tiller, and in the present one a boom, which we ourselves saw to be full of knots where the branches had been. Of plants there is a kind of mawkish *papa*[1] that they call *ñame*[2], which also serves them for food.

Knowing the disposition and the multitude of the natives, who by our estimate exceed twelve thousand persons of all sexes and ages, and seeing that we held the baptized Indian named Thomas to be an apostate from our Holy Faith and consequently, in so far as may be supposed, a declared enemy, inasmuch as he had parted company from us on the 27th of December saying to Maximo Rodrigz that he wanted nothing at all from the frigate, but that all he wished was to be free to follow his own bent, and fearing too that Manuel would drift the same way, for we had noticed him to be much inclined towards his kinsfolk,—we decided to make a formal appeal to the Captain, and to beg of him that two men should be left in our company. One only was allowed us, notwithstanding the Comandante's admission in his Order; the which we forward to Your Excellency together with our memorial in order that, should your multifarious occupations afford you an opportunity to do so, you may be pleased to look over it.

This, Most Excellent Señor, is an outline of what, of our limited ability, we have judged to be the situation, showing that in view of the circumstances we now represent to your exalted understanding, and considering the isolation and imminent danger of losing our lives in which we are placed through our number being so few, and the cupidity of the natives so great, we cannot at present hold out any hope of yielding good fruit to our labours.

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[1] The Peruvian potato. [2] The yam (Tah. *uhī*).

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency's valuable life for our guidance and the public weal, as we likewise pray for His Sovereign Majesty's. At this harbour of *S^n Franco de Ofatutira*: January 28th, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble and loving Chaplains,

F^r GERONIMO CLOTA and *F^r* NARCISO GONZALEZ kiss Your Excellency's hand.

Postscript.

Most Excellent Señor,

Having found that we made a mistake about the name of the *arii* which occurs in the first paragraph overleaf we have since ascertained that the man Ôritumu[1] adopted it from one of the officers of the ship that was at this island last year, and that the said *arii's* own name is 'Vexiatua,' and his father was called 'Aguemay.' That Your Excellency may be correctly informed we now submit this note separately.

May Our Lord preserve your valuable life for the common weal and for the service of both Their Majesties. And thus we pray to God: at this harbour of *S^n Franco de Ofatutira.* The 28th of January, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your devoted Chaplains

F^r GERONIMO CLOTA and *F^r* NARCISO GONZALEZ kiss Your Excellency's hand.

Enclosures. Copy of the Memorial, and of the Order.

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[1] The only officer in the *Resolution* or the *Adventure* whose name could by any possible mutation of Tahitian phonology become 'Oritumu,' *i.e.* O Ritumu, was Lieut. Edgcumbe, of the Marines.

Enclosure I.

MEMORIAL

[from the missionary *Padres* to the Commander of the *Aguila*].

Señor Dⁿ Thomas Gayangos,

Fray Geronimo Clota, and *Fray* Narciso Gonzalez, Apostolic Fathers of the College of Santa Rosa of Ocopa, approach Your Honour with all submission, and state :—

THAT :—we have suffered many indignities from the native inhabitants of the Island while the frigate's return to this harbour of *Âtutira* was delayed : not only at the hands of the lower classes in this District, but also from the innumerable concourse of people who gathered together to celebrate their *Geiba*[1]. Not knowing the language, and our Interpreter being for some days absent, we were unable to keep aloof from the crowds which the said *Geiba* every moment brought together ; but especially so because the native[2] of this island had deserted from our company, causing us many heart-aches, for we had believed we might rely upon him not only for our protection in case of need but also as a helpmate in attending to some of the commoner needs about the dwelling-house of our Hospice. But knowing that we must regard the said Thomas as a declared enemy (seeing that he is a recognised apostate from our holy catholic faith and showed himself somewhat rebellious not only while the Frigate was away but also, as is well known, while she lay at anchor in this harbour) and that the Interpreter, being alone and liable to be harassed by the weightier duties of our defence, in case of need, could not suffice for the many little jobs requiring to be

[1] *Heiva.* [2] Pautu, re-named Thomas.

done in the ordinary course, and furthermore that the other native named Manuel was of no service by reason of his tender age, we saw ourselves compelled to perform menial offices which are not appropriate to our ministry.

For these reasons, and owing to our not having time enough left for the fulfilment of our priestly office, and for commending to God the conversion of these infidels, we find ourselves obliged to appeal to Your Honour's exalted consideration, desiring that in view of the circumstances, you will allow us the services of two men, to remain in our company, so that by this means we may be enabled to act up to His Majesty's pleasure.

WE THEREFORE, relying on Your Honour's high sense of equity and benevolence, request and beg that you may be pleased, when your Council meets, to give your assent to our suggestion, or to act as may best accord with Your Honour's pleasure, which is all kindness and goodwill.

Fray GERONIMO CLOTA

Fray NARCISO GONZALEZ.

Enclosure II.

ORDER

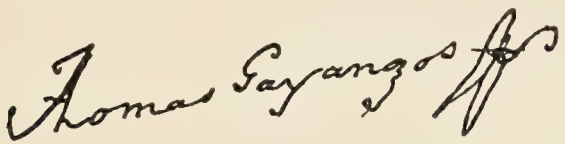
[issued by the Officer commanding the *Aguila* in response to the foregoing memorial].

WHEREAS the Commander of this vessel, Dⁿ Domingo de Boenechea, is bereft of consciousness and at this moment lies at the point of death: and WHEREAS I, being the First Lieutenant of the ship and senior officer on board and holding principal rank in accordance with the King's Regulations for the Navy, am about to succeed to the Command: and WHEREAS the Revᵈ missionary *Padres*

have truthfully and fairly represented certain exigencies to which they are exposed:—

THEREFORE I, with a view to spare them the grievous labour of cooking, and carrying water casks from a distance, and other inconveniences they have suffered during my absence at the Island *Orayatea*, DO HEREBY APPOINT Francisco Perez, ordinary seaman, one of the crew of this ship aforesaid, to do duty in the service of the Petitioners, without prejudice to his claim for wages due or to become due, and to draw corresponding rations, he being acquainted with farming, the care of stock, and other matters fitting for this capacity.—On board the Frigate of War *Santa Maria Magdalena* alias *Aguila*: at anchor, in the harbour of the Island of AMAT alias *Otaheyte*, this 26th of January of 1775.—THOMAS GAYANGOS.

The above is a copy *literatim* of its original which remains in my keeping.



MINUTE

[in the handwriting of the Secretary of State for the Indies, endorsed on the *Padres'* report].

Tells only of woes: file.

[Unsigned]

[The following narrative forms a part of *Carta* CCLXXXIV in *El Viagero Universal*—Bibl. no. 37—which begins at page 257 of the XVIIth *tomo*, and is intituled *Diario del segundo viage de los Españoles á Otaheti.* The first twenty-eight pages as printed in that work are omitted here because they deal with the same story as Gayangos' journal, and for the greater part in much the same phraseology, though they do contain one or two minor incidents of some interest, not elsewhere recorded, such as the following:

—The storeship's private signal for recognition by the frigate was a Maltese pendant with a blue flag at the fore: the frigate answered by firing a gun and repeating the same signal.

Opo's (Purahi's) double canoe, which had to be hoisted on board when that lady came off to the *Aguila* in search of her son and husband on Nov. 23rd, occupied the frigate's deck from the mainmast to the foremast.

The *Padres*' description of the site selected for their homestead set forth that it was lacking in wood and water, both of which were inconveniently far away.

They found it not a matter for surprise that Vehiatua praised the Spaniards' wine, and did not dislike any of their stews, seeing that he used to intoxicate himself on most days with the bitter beverage his henchmen brewed for him from the root called *ava.*

Andía y Varela is always quoted here as Varela—Don Joseph Varela; which tends to corroborate Fernández de Navarrete's remark that he seemed to have dropped his patronymic, in favour of his maternal surname. (*Cf.* vol. I, p. xliv, note.)

The *Padres* already murmur at the natives' proneness to 'steal,' and allege that even Vehiatua's mother Opo (Purahi) evinced no exception to this frailty, for they now bought back from her for two axes the ship's anvil, which it seems she had abstracted from the armourer's kit during the previous visit of the *Aguila*, in 1772. They also recovered from Vehiatua, by the medium of a similar bribe, the yawl's grapnel which had been stolen at Opo's instance in the same year; so that the Comandante gave orders that a marine should attend my Lady whenever she was

on board the ship, and make shift to keep a watchful eye over her doings. Nevertheless on the night when, owing to rough weather, it became necessary for her to sleep on board she asked to be provided with sheets and a pillow, which on the morrow she declined to give up. The Spaniards had yet to grasp the Polynesian idea of property, and the relation between *meum* and *tuum* as understood by natives who knew only communal tenure.

On Dec. the 13th there died on shore the only ass that had survived the voyage from Lima: the natives ate it.

On the 15th a canoe came off with two men, a woman with a child in arms, and a boy of ten years. The small child was very pretty, very fair in hue, and had red hair; so that when the seamen caught sight of it they exclaimed "*He aqui un Inglesito!*" (Here is a little Englishman), which the *Padres* thought to be probably the case, through the natives' intercourse with the English. They called to the canoe to come alongside, and Lieut. Gayangos went down and took the child in his arms, upon which it instantly embraced him round the neck quite fearlessly. The father and mother then came on board, and the child, which seemed to be about fifteen months old, was passed about from one person to another without being in any way ruffled or concerned. It may, of course, have been an albino: Cook and Banks saw several at Tahiti.

On Dec. 20 they give a short description of Vehiatua's *marae*, as follows: 'Next day we inspected Vehiatua's *Imaray*, that is, the place where the members of his family are buried. Near the *Imaray* the Indian called *Epuré* has his house; in front of this is a paved way extending to the *Imaray*, and in the middle of this a pole is planted, which supports an oblong platform upon which the *Epuré* sets plantains, dressed victuals and branches of plants and trees, and prays I don't know what to *Teatua*, who is their god, to appease his wrath. We also saw on the other side of the *Imaray* three pretty high posts elaborately carved, one broader than the others: on this broadest one there were five women rudely sculptured, nude and obscene. On the other two posts there were carved heads and portions of what seemed to be men's bodies. On the North side of our house there was another *Imaray*, and about a *cuadra* away towards the South another, in both of which there was a house for the *Epuré* too: in these certain platforms

(*barbacoas*) were seen, upon which they place bunches of plantains.' By *Epuré* the writers mean the *Tahua* or priest.

With reference to the strained relations that ensued on Dec. 26th and following days (*cf.* p. 149) the passage runs, 'The Comandante being doubtful what measures to take, Dⁿ Nicolás said that the *arii* Vehiatua ought to be brought on board and held in custody until the delinquent should be surrendered for the punishment he deserved: that that would not be the first arrest of the kind for them, because the Englishman Coock (*sic*) made prisoners of three of the Chiefs on board his ship in the district of *Oparé*, until they delivered up a seaman who had stayed on shore; and that on Vehiatua being held prisoner they would deliver over the ill-doer and he should be punished as a warning to the rest. The missionaries opposed themselves to this, alleging that if such were done the Otahetians would feel very sore about it, and would vent their anger on the missionaries and the others who were to remain in the island with them, after the frigate left.'

They mention that an attempt was made, at first, to build walls or fences of *tapia* about the homestead; but that these were found to crumble and crack, and that method had to be abandoned in favour of the natives' style of construction. (*Tapia* means clay walls of unburnt bricks and rough-cast: for which the porous gravelly soil at Tautira is inadaptable.)

The two youths who were discovered hiding in the cha'n'ales on the night of Jan. the 1st (*cf.* p. 154) dived, in their flight, beneath the frigate's bottom and came up on the opposite side. Their punishment next day consisted, say the *Padres*, of fifty lashes apiece; and the Lady Purahi, not content with witnessing this "very mild flogging," as Gayangos terms it, afterwards gave one of them a lusty kick with her foot, and begged that their castigation might be continued; while *Taytoa* wanted to belabour them with a thick stick, but was restrained. This happened on the 2nd of January, and five days later the *Aguila* sailed from *Hatutira* for *Ra'iatea*.

The fretful and intolerant *Padres* were again annoyed by the natives' curiosity; and a stole and a small missal were pilfered from them, but recovered. They next recite the terms of the Convention, and the diary then proceeds as here presented from Jan. 7th.—Ed.]

NARRATIVE

of events at *Hatutira* during the interval between the departure of the Frigate and Storeship for RA'IATEA and their return from thence to the Bay of VAITEPIHA:

January 7th to 20th, 1775.

Jan. 7th.

At ten in the forenoon the Frigate and the storeship put to sea from *Hatutira* harbour to go to the island of *Orayatea*: and the principal Indians immediately came to our hospice, with a great lot of people behind them.

Next day the headman Titorea and his wife Opo came to the hospice, and we told him we should be glad if he would give directions for the remaining part of the house to be wattled in. He immediately ordered his menials to bring over some reeds[1] that he had not very far from the

[1] The word *caña* may be correctly rendered either 'bamboo,' 'cane,' or 'reed'; and it is a little difficult sometimes to know which it really represents. In the Pacific islands the English term 'reed' is in general use to signify *Miscanthus sinensis* (Anderss.) which is much employed for panelling in the walls of houses, and often enough too for fencing compounds or garden plots. But the *bamboo* is quite as much in request for such purposes; and it seems likely, on the whole, that the *Padres'* compound was fenced with bamboos, but that the house was screened in with reed work. William Bayly, the astronomer who accompanied Capt. Cook in the *Resolution* in the quality of "observator," visited *Vaitepiha* Bay in that ship in August 1777, after the Spanish mission had been abandoned; and he kept a journal, the MS. of which I was afforded an opportunity of examining. In it he thus described the *Padres'* hospice at that date:—

> "On going on shore we found a neat wood house consisting of two rooms. It appeared to have been made in some Port, as every board was marked and numbered, and the ends of the timbers were bound with Iron. The doors had iron bolts to them. In the house we found a large wood settle chair and a bedstead

hospice, awaiting some job of his own, and they put them in position so as to close in what was wanting. This work of screening in [the house] afforded us much relief; for so many of the heathen[1] from the island of *Orayatea*, and of this island itself, arrived during the afternoon to celebrate their *heybas*[2], or accustomed revels, that we had to make the best of things by shutting ourselves inside the house, because they kept us so distracted with the din and uproar of so many people that we got no freedom till nightfall.

On the 9th the Indians fenced in a good bit of the garden with bamboos. We gave an axe to each of the Chiefs of the island as a present, on this day: which made six, out of the eight we possessed.

The crowd of *Orayatea* people continued to press about us to our great inconvenience, for the walls being of reeds we had no place where we could seclude ourselves from their view, and everything that is inside the house can be seen at very close quarters through the doorway of the screen round it.

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with a canvas skin nailed to [it] by way of sacking. There was also a few old casks in the house. Over this house they had built a house in the Otaheitian manner which effectually secured it both from wind and sun and Rain. Round the house they had inclosed an Area and Paved it with stones, and a little without it was a Pallacedo about 3½ Feet high. In the middle of this area before the house was a wooden Cross erected, on which was this Inscription—*Christus Vincit: Carolus* 3° *Emperat.* 1774—and near this cross in its front the natives told us the Commodore (whose name was Orilly) was buried."

Bayly spells this name elsewhere Oriddy. But it was Gayangos, not Boenechea, who was so called; having exchanged names with o Reti, the Chief of *Hitiaa*, during the *Aguila's* first visit.

[1] The term *Gentiles* is in constant use in the *Padres'* diaries, to signify 'natives.' It is customary to render it in English by 'heathen'; but its original meaning would seem to be the people of the country—the tribesmen. The editor of *El Viagero Universal* has, with commendable grace, altered it to *Indios* in many places; but I consider that the *Padres* used *gentiles* to mean 'heathen' or 'pagans,' because they also wrote, in places, *infieles* (infidels).

[2] *Heiva*: the Tahitian dancing or contortionists' entertainment of that period, with various burlesque accompaniments.

In the midst of so great discomfort from the yelling of the people the day proved a joyful one for us, because Tomás, the Christian Indian, returned after having deserted us. We received him with open arms, and after the two missionaries and he had embraced, we led him into the hospice weeping—ourselves with gladness and he with confusion—and then we gave him whereof to eat. Like a certain other prodigal son he came naked and disfigured, wearing only a breech-clout, and with his back scorched by the heat of the sun. We asked him why he had run away, and he answered that it was through fear. We admonished him that he should stay with us, that he should want for nought, that he should reflect upon the great beneficence of God in his favour, through which he had become a Christian that he might be saved; and that, moreover, he ought to call to remembrance the favours he had received at the hands of the Lord Viceroy. He made some show of repentance; but it was all feigned.

At ten in the forenoon of the 11th Tomás came back afresh in the company of the *arii* Vehiatua, the headman Titorea, and his wife Opo, and also of the Chief Taytoa. His motive in coming was no other but to get the key of his chest and make over all he had in it to Vehiatua. Seeing this, we wrote out a list of everything that belonged to him; we took away the swords and such arms as the King had given him, and also the rosaries, tokens, and other little objects that it was not meet he should retain now that he was forsaking Christianity. He handed over the key of the chest to the *arii*, and took himself off; and, so far, he has never returned. We at once directed them to have the chest removed from the hospice, and they put it down in the compound. The sorrow that we felt may be conceived, seeing that a soul so favoured of God and man was going to perdition, and that we should suffer the

untold loss of all the host of heathen in these islands: inasmuch as henceforward we could but regard him as our enemy.

The Orayateans stayed on during the next two days, which obliged us to keep watch from four in the morning until eight at night. The clamour of the heathen was such that they kept us quite bewildered. In the evening all the inmates of the *arii* Otu's house came: it was necessary to admit them and show them some civility.

A heathen stole four razors from one of us, the hone and its case, a handkerchief, a towel and a napkin. We called in the *arii* Vehiatua and he took note of the people whom we had let come within the house-screen and who had since gone. He got word of the thief, but they did not make him put in an appearance. They brought back everything, however, except the towel and the napkin.

At eleven in the forenoon there arrived a great number of canoes laden with eatables for Otu and his people, so that the tale of the Indians was thus increased, and they at once came to the hospice. We took our meal in the presence of all this throng, as we had the *arii* Vehiatua as our guest. The hubbub was so great that we could not hear one another [speak]; and the crowd continued without ever quitting the screen round the house until three in the afternoon, when the *heyba* began, and even that did not leave us in any lack of people to annoy us.

At four in the morning of the 15th we rose to say a mass, and scarcely was it over when we had the headman Taytoa inside the hospice, and the screen surrounded with people. A little later the *arii* Vehiatua arrived, with others, and they came inside. At nine that morning came Opo, Vehiatua's mother, with her son aged eight years[1], a very

[1] This young Chief was named Natapua, and was heir apparent in *Taiarapu*, where he became the principal *arii* on the death of his brother Vehiatua a few months later. His age at this time was as

bright and prankish boy of whom his mother was extremely fond; and in order to give him his way in everything she asked Manuel for the loose breeches of a gipsy costume, the red sash belonging to it, and some stockings and shoes: all of which Manuel gave to her. On our seeing this we told the mother that Manuel had nothing else to wear but these breeches, and no other shoes to put on, nor any sash but that one for a girdle; and that therefore the child must not go out of the hospice without leaving them all: to which she made answer that those clothes were her son's, because he was Manuel's Chief. In the end the mother herself stripped the clothes from him, and as she was going off with them one of the missionaries took them from her by force, with the exception of the red silk sash, which the son had put on as a breech-clout. At this his mother made a great fuss, and, not content with having taken Manuel's clothes from him, she wanted the chest as well; for her covetousness knew no bounds.

More than five hundred Indians collected at the hospice during the morning, so that they left us no room to have our breakfast.

The *arii* Otu, his brother Hinoy, and his father[1], dined with us; but although the mother[2] was also there she took no food because the women do not eat in the presence of their men folk, be they even their sons or husbands: neither do they sleep in the same house with them. The clatter of the Indians wanting to come inside our house lasted throughout the day.

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stated, but he died as early as 1790. He was succeeded in office by Churchill, one of the mutineers of the *Bounty* who had gained his confidence and been his *taio*, but this person was soon afterwards shot by his former shipmate Thompson [Bibl. no. 96].

[1] This was Teu, also known as Hapai (the Whappai of Cook): he was about 54 years of age at this time and lived until 1802.

[2] O Tu's mother was the Lady Tetupaia i Ra'iatea. Her espousal by Teu took place between 1740 and 1750. As to Hinoi see p. 137, n. 2.

On the morning of the 18th the marine, Máxîmo, started off for the district of *Tayarapú* to fetch the unruly bull that had strayed from *Ohatutira*. When we thought the Indians' revellings were over, and that we should find relief from the anxieties and keeping watch that we had endured all these days, we found ourselves beset, at seven in the morning, by a vast number of new-comers to the *heyba*. On this day, too, the *arii* Vehiatua took himself off, and Otu was the only one of the Chiefs who remained to come to the hospice worrying us morning and afternoon: begging us for plantains, out of the few we had. Although the Indians gave offence to us by word and by deed in front of him, he made no move whatever to check them. However much we asked him to send away the people who left us no peace he took no notice beyond picking up a stone from the ground, and handing it to us to throw at them. To this we replied that we were not doing harm to anybody, whereon he put down the stone and went away. These passages occurred several times when Vehiatua and his headmen were present, so that it would seem that the Chiefs have no recourse of any kind against them [the commoners] excepting when they fail to furnish them with victuals; but that then they banish them to another district, from which it costs them dear to get back again because they have [in such case] to bring the *arii* an offering—it may be a canoe, or some other articles that they hold prescribed in such cases.

At six in the evening, as they were returning homewards from the *heyba*, a great number of them of all sexes and ages came to our hospice to provoke us. They called out to us through the screen round the house "*Guariro!*" which means 'thieves':—"*Neneva!*" which means 'fools':—"*Poreho!*" signifying shell-fish[1], but used among themselves

[1] Tahitians of whom I enquired the meaning of *poreho* as an opprobrious epithet readily explained it—whether rightly or wrongly

to express the privy parts, making grossly obscene mockery of us the while; and others called us "*Harimiri*," which means "old gaffers." These terms we caught the meaning of ourselves; the rest, which no doubt were equally opprobrious, we did not understand. Meanwhile the women [looked on] with roars of laughter: the boys took their cue from the rest. We offered no retort. This lasted more than half an hour, and then they went home to their dwellings.

On the morrow the concourse of Indians round about the hospice subsided, but there were not wanting enough of them to harass us until seven o'clock at night, at which hour the *arii* Vehiatua, Titorea and Opo, and the headman Taytoa, with their following, returned.

On the 20th such was the crowd of Indians at our hospice that there were not less than two thousand persons, big and little, of both sexes. Prior to all these many people gathering together they brought us a few little fish called *toreles*[1], which we dressed and ate before them all. While we were alone with Manuel, and not remembering to keep patrolling round the house, the Chiefs came up desiring to be admitted with their followers. We let them in, and all we got by it was to be laughed at not only by the *plebs* outside, but also by the persons we had admitted, who mimicked our manner of speaking and our gesticulations. These went away, and a little while afterwards the mothers of Vehiatua and Otu arrived; and, while we were conversing with them through the medium of Manuel as interpreter, there came Máxîmo, who was bringing back the obstreperous bull with a lot of fuss and yelling and a vast number of Indians.

I will not vouch. They said "Oh yes! that must have been in allusion to the *Padres*' tonsures: our people would immediately liken them to the rounded and shiny surface of a cowrie shell."

[1] This is merely a wrong reading of *jurel*, Spanish for scad and mackerel.

An immense number who were at the *heyba* revels going on about a *quadra*[1] away then joined the throng, and with them came Vehiatua. He asked for "*aba* de Lima[2]," which we refused him: then he wanted some fish, out of the small quantity we had. The table was laid, and we sat together at the repast. They served us with three fish, and there was nothing besides; but Vehiatua did not manage to get through one. He got up from the table and set himself to eat plantains while sitting amongst his attendants in the doorway of the house, and at the same time drinking the juice of the *aba* plant, which is the stuff that intoxicates them. Then he went to the back of the house with them and stretched himself in a fuddled condition on the Christian Indian's mattress, where the attendants fanned him with leaves. We two missionaries went out and gave directions that they should convey him home: they picked him up in their arms and took him away.

At four in the afternoon of this day the Frigate entered the harbour, on her return from *Orayatea*.—

[The next sentence in *El Viagero Universal* is a statement that *Fr.* Narciso went off to the frigate to welcome his shipmates back from *Ra'iatea*; but that he was met with the news of the Comandante's serious illness, in consequence of which, and on the advice of the surgeon, the viaticum was administered the next day.

From this point the narrative is no more than the editor's abridgement of Lieut. Gayangos' own log[3] from the 21st to the 28th of January, when the *Aguila* finally put to sea for the return voyage to America. It extends to only two pages of print in sm. 8vo and is not of any moment here.

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[1] See p. 128, note 2.

[2] The Padres had six jars of wine and two of brandy among their stores. See p. 97.

[3] As narrated by González de Agüeros [Bibl. no. 48].

The diary of the *Padres* after the frigate's departure occupies *Carta* no. CCLXXXV in *El Viagero Universal*, from p. 296 to p. 316, and is followed by their protest addressed to Don Cayetano de Lángara dated the 4th of November, 1775; and the list of islands recorded by Gayangos (as printed at pp. 187–194 of the present volume). The *Carta* concludes with the sentence "Todo esto consta del Diario que formó el Piloto del *Aguila* Don Joseph Varela," and thus discloses the fact that Don Pedro Estala took his 'copy' from *Fr.* Pedro González de Agüera's book published five years earlier [Bibl. no. 48] which exhibits the same blunder as to the authorship of the journal, stated in the very same words (*cf.* vol. I *hereof*, p. xxxvi).

There is no need to follow Estala's work any farther here, because I had the good fortune to meet with a *literatim* transcript of the *Padres'* diary from this point forward, in the *Real Academia de la Historia.* It was made for Don Juan Baptista Muñoz about the year 1782; and, being unabridged and of earlier date than *El Viagero Universal*, I copied it and have used it as the most authentic document available for making the translation which follows Andía y Varela's journal in this volume. It is signed (in copy) only by *Fr.* Geronimo Clota, but was doubtless composed by the two *Padres* jointly, since they are each named in it in the third person. It begins on Jan. 28th and ends on Nov. 12th, 1775: thus covering the whole period of their occupation at Tahiti from the day on which the frigate left, and presenting a minute account of the experiences of the first Europeans who ever resided in the island without the presence of their ship, and without any protection but that of the native Chiefs.

From the short narrative of their plight at *Hatutira* while the frigate was away at *Ra'iatea* (pp. 211–218) the reader will have perceived how absolutely unfitted the temperaments of these two bigots were for gaining the respect, or even the mere good-will, of a Polynesian community. In the relation of their later experiences, and in the remarkable diary kept by Máximo the Interpreter (vol. III) it becomes farther apparent that more narrow-minded, peevish, illiberal, and pusillanimous envoys could hardly have been found, among a reputable and high-principled body like the members of the Ocopa college, to whom to assign the difficult and previously untried enterprise of grafting the Christian Faith on to the ancient and intricate religious cult of the Tahitian race. The Viceroy could not

be blamed for ignoring the individual idiosyncracies of these missionaries—a judicious selection was naturally a matter for which he must rely on those already well acquainted with the brotherhood and the personal qualities of its component friars. That His Excellency felt thoroughly disappointed with these *Padres* is clear from the strictures on their failure expressed in his Recital (vol. I, p. 16); and in his despatch no. 1189 to the Secretary of State, wherein he deplores "the lukewarmness of the missionaries, who" were "terrorized by incidents of little weight." There is, however, something to be said in defence of *Fr.* Narciso, who appears (from Máximo's diary) to have been a chronic dyspeptic; and there is just this to be remembered in favour of *Fr.* Geronimo—that he was, of the two, the less timid and less slothful, for he did sometimes venture out of the hospice and even go short distances afield for walks with Máximo, or to minister to Vehiatua in his extremity of illness.

In their favour it must also be pointed out that there is absolutely no evidence to justify the insinuation of licence or immorality on their part printed by William Ellis, surgeon's mate of the *Discovery* [Bibl. no. 107, p. 127], but rather the contrary.—ED.]

THE

JOURNAL

OF DON JOSÉ DE ANDÍA Y VARELA

while in command of his bark the *Júpiter*,

in which are related the events of a voyage

TO THE ISLAND OF AMAT

and others adjacent thereto:

UNDER CONVOY OF THE FRIGATE *AGUILA*,

commanded by Captain Don Domingo de Boenechea,

1774–5.

LETTER OR PREAMBLE

[submitted by Don José de Andía y Varela, with his Journal, to the Viceroy of Peru].

Most Excellent Señor,

The honour with which Your Excellency represents the greatness of our Sovereign the *KING* (whom God protect) in the Vice-Kingdom of Peru, the prudence with which you have governed, and the solicitude with which you have sought to extend its dominions, added to the success with which this aim has been achieved, will serve to perpetuate your memory in this World, and particularly as one of the Viceroys of this Realm.

The island of *Otahiti*, which to-day is deemed worthy to bear Your Excellency's illustrious name, and for whose exploration you were pleased, of your goodness, to make choice of me from among the many who sought that honour, and to despatch me under convoy of the Frigate *Aguila*, has afforded me material sufficient for putting together some observations not merely about the voyage and the revelations of this island, its situation, and those of other islands adjacent to it, but also in regard to the usages and customs of the islanders (especially those of *Otahiti*), in whose company I sojourned for some days.

I have endeavoured to commit to writing such facts as my observation was able to compass, that I might now

have the honour of presenting them before Your Excellency, assuring you that I have recorded nothing without, as it seemed to me, thorough corroboration, in order that I might render an exact account of all.

Although, at first, it was my intention to be succinct, I have found it impossible to be more brief [than will appear]; and though you will have received other accounts about the islands in question, yet I venture to say that none [of their compilers] have striven more than myself to commend themselves to Your Excellency in the matter of accuracy. And therefore I shall have attained my crowning wish if so be that there ensue that satisfaction which for me, would be one of the greatest happinesses to which I can aspire in this life.

Señor,

Your most humble subject and servitor kisses Your Excellency's feet.

JOSEPH DE ANDIA Y VARELA.

[Observations on Andía y Varela and the several manuscript copies of his Journal are included in the INTRODUCTION (Vol. I) and the PREFATORY REMARKS (Vol. II).

The translation has been divided into sections and supplied with marginal sub-headings, for convenience in reading; but in the MSS. the narrative is continuous throughout.—ED.]

NARRATIVE

of the voyage performed to the

ISLAND OF AMAT,

otherwise by name *Otahiti*,
and the discovery of others lying near-by:
By Don JOSEPH DE ANDIA Y VARELA;
in the years 1774 and 1775.

I.

[*Introductory.*]

THE MOST Excellent Señor Don MANUEL de AMAT Y JUNIENT, Viceroy, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of the Realms of Perú and Chile, having disposed that His Majesty's Frigate named the *Aguila*, under the command of Don DOMINGO de BOENECHEA, Captain in the Royal Navy, should proceed to the Island of AMAT, which the same Boenechea had discovered two years previously, for the purpose of forming a settlement there in the name of the KING, —conveying with that intent, and for the conversion of the infidels who dwell there, the Reverend missionary Fathers of the *Propaganda Fide* Fr. Geronimo Clota and Fr. Narciso Gonzalez, and, in order to facilitate communications between the parties, likewise an Interpreter, and two natives of the same island who, having been brought to this capital on the foregoing voyage, obtained the grace of baptism and had acquired our language—, furthermore decided to charter (at the expense of the Royal Treasury) my freight-vessel the

Jupiter. I embarked in her in the quality of captain and sailing-master, in order to proceed in company with the aforesaid Frigate under the orders of her Comandante, not merely that my packet might serve for conveying the portable house in which the said *Padres* were to reside, and some animals of various kinds intended for breeding purposes in the island, but also to act as an auxiliary to the Frigate and her people in the event of shipwreck—having regard to the probability of our meeting with other islands reported to exist.

II.

[*The outward voyage, from El Callao de Lima to Tahiti.*]

THE two vessels being ready with all the supplies suitable for an expedition of such a nature, we made sail from the harbour of El Callao on the 20th of September, 1774, at one o'clock in the afternoon, with a gentle breeze from the S.S.E. At six I took a bearing of the topmost point of the isle of *San Lorenzo* (which, according to the French chart of 1756[1], is situated in lat. 12° South, and long. 298° 25′ reckoned from the meridian of Tenerife) and it lay E.S.E. by compass at a distance of about two leagues, which position, pricked off on the said chart, is in lat. 11° 57′ and long. 298° 20′; and is that from which I took my departure.

From that hour we shaped a course to the Sou'-west, keeping in mind the *Hormigas* shoals, until noon of the following day, by which time, being then clear of them, we steered W.S.W. 5° W. by compass in the intention to fetch

[1] This date seems to point to the chart drawn up by the Sieur Robert de Vaugondy for publication in De Brosses' volumes [Bibl. no. 21], where it occurs as chart no. II, at the end. But in the concluding paragraphs of Andía's journal he quotes "the French chart of the year 1753" which—if the 3 be not a mistake—might indicate an official naval chart, perhaps by Bellin.

gradually southwards into the latitude of 17° 30′ or thereabouts, while running down the longitude with as much despatch as possible.

The wind held steady from S.E. to S.S.E. as far as lat. 14° 7′, long. 285° 9′ (it is to be understood that the longitude quoted in this narrative is always computed from the meridian of Tenerife, and that the latitude is always South) where it began to vary, between E. and E.S.E. and E.N.E., and continued at that as far as to lat. 17° 27′, long. 252° 49′. Then it drew round into the nor'ard, N.E. and N.W., as far as lat. 17° 26′, long. 244° 3′, and afterwards backed to E., which latter we carried with us until our discovery of the first island.

On the 5th of October the wind freshened from the eastward in such fashion during the afternoon as to oblige me to take in all the lesser canvas and to secure the topsails ; but, seeing that it continued to gather force and that a rough sea was getting up, I found myself compelled to close-reef them, and thus to pass the night and the whole of the succeeding day. At 8 p.m. I noticed that the Frigate's light could not be made out ; and I therefore slung a lantern, first from the bowsprit and afterwards at the fore-topsail yard. But finding that my signal was not answered either from the one side or from the other I concluded that the Frigate must have got separated from me ; and this, indeed, proved in the morning to be the case, for when I sent a hand aloft to the masthead he failed to get a glimpse of her anywhere round the horizon,—which caused me a good deal of uneasiness, seeing how important it was, on so hazardous a voyage, that we should keep in company. As soon as the wind took off a bit I made all the sail possible, in order to overtake her ; but it was in vain, for we never came together again during the whole of the voyage as far as the Island of AMAT.

Finding myself alone I decided to follow the course recommended to me in such event by Don Joseph de la Somaglia, [Naval] Commander-in-Chief in the South Sea; and I made all sail to arrive at my destination in the shortest possible time, steering W.S.W. as far as lat. 17° 27′, which parallel I crossed in 270° 13′ of longitude. From thence I continued sailing W. a few degrees southerly, to the end that I might keep about the same parallel with but little divergence.

From the longitude of 268° we began to see great numbers of white sea-fowl of the kinds they call *tijeretas* and *rabijuncos*[1], together with some petrels of smaller size, which continued until we got among the islands.

From the 260th meridian onwards we met with great abundance of flying-fish—so much so that I doubt whether there be any other tract of sea where they are more plentiful. They were chased by albacore, and rose in their flight to so great a height as to fall within board in such numbers, especially at night time, that they provided a very handsome breakfast next day for all the officers.

I found that the current set me in a N^ly or N.W^ly direction from the time of leaving El Callao until reaching the 267th degree[2] of longitude; but, from long. 265° 46′ until we fell in with the first island I found it setting towards the S. or S.E. So that the one being opposed to the other, it appears that they do not materially influence the longitude at the conclusion of the voyage; and I am persuaded to this [opinion by the fact] that on the return voyage I disregarded the currents altogether, and yet, on making the outer isle of Juan Fernandez, had only 4 minutes' disparity in my longitude, as will be seen in the sequel.

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[1] *i.e.* Terns or shearwaters, and tropic-birds (lit. 'rush-tails'). Capt. Vidal Gormaz prints 278° for the longitude where these were met with—which may or may not be correct by the Santiago MS.

[2] Vidal Gormaz here prints 277°.

From long. 271° 50′ we began to experience repeated squalls and heavy showers of rain, which occur with great frequency and are very troublesome among the islands and in their neighbourhood.

On reaching lat. 17° 24′, in long. 247°, I began to notice much lightning every night, flashing now to the south'ard and at times away to the nor'ard, which continued until we fell in with the islands; and which I believe to have been caused by some land on one side or the other yet to be discovered. My reason [for thinking so] is that the flashes always kept in the same direction, and at the same height above the horizon—a circumstance which only occurs in the cases of those arising from vapours overhanging land. I feel sure that the flashes produced by storms travel with the storms, and consequently keep on changing their position. For this reason, and because I found myself now nearing the situation of the isle of *San Simon y Judas*, according to the track given me by the Comandante to follow, I set about navigating with the precautions necessary in such circumstances.

Isle of *San Narciso*. (Tatakoto.)

In point of fact, on the 30th of October, at half-past five in the morning, we got sight of an island astern of us, bearing N.E. 5° E. by compass, which according to my reckoning was situated in lat. 17° 20′, and long. 238° 58′. I believed this island to be that of *San Simon y Judas*, inasmuch as it was the first one [encountered] and also because its position differed by only 1° 26′ of longitude from [that assigned to it in] the Comandante's [previous] track. In reality it was another, which lies more to the eastward than that one, as we found to be the case when we afterwards, at AMAT's Island, compared the logs of the Masters of the two ships; and to which, having been discovered by the Frigate as well, she allotted the name of

San Narciso. It lies so low that in spite of all the vigilance we used during the night, and although there was a moon, we passed within four or five miles' distance of it without seeing it. In the centre it has a lagoon of sea-water which flows into it across several sunken parts [of the reef], the rest of the island being extremely pleasant to the view through being so well wooded. I was not able to make out whether it was inhabited, nor could I spare time to put back in order to examine it[1]. What is quite certain, however, is that it is highly dangerous of approach : not only by reason of its lowness, but also because the water retains a deep-sea colour right in to the beach, whereas in the case of other islands and of continents it is usual for the colour of the sea to assume a greenish hue some leagues off shore, and one meets with seals, too, and sea-weed and other signs, which were entirely wanting here as in the case of all the other islands we saw on this voyage ; so that one can only infer one's proximity to land from the [occurrence of] lightning and the abundance of white birds.

On the night of the 31st of October many flashes of lightning were seen in the S. to S.S.W. quarter, never

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[1] The latitude assigned by Andía to *San Narciso* is exactly correct. His longitude is 39′ too easterly. Gayangos' journal shows (pp. 107–8) that the *Aguila* sighted this island on the 29th of the month at 3 in the afternoon—some ten hours before the *Júpiter*—and that, after standing off and on for the night, she was some " 3 to 4 leagues " to windward of it at dawn the next morning just when Andía sighted it in the N.E. Had the latter put back to examine it he must have fallen in with the frigate in the course of the morning, for Gayangos tells us that he approached within one league and was near enough to distinguish seven or eight natives on the beach, who carried long spears.

The reputed native name of this island is *Tatakoto* ; and while Boenechea was undoubtedly the first European navigator, by a few hours, to catch sight of its tree-tops, it would scarcely be fair to deny Andía an equal share in the honour, since they each made the discovery independently on the same astronomical day. It was one of the few of Boenechea's new landfalls for which his name has been preserved in hydrographic works (*e.g.* Krusenstern, Bibl. 58, Duperrey 35 *bis*, Findlay 39, Adm. Sailing Directions 1 *bis*), yet none of them have associated Andía's achievement with his Comandante's.

shifting their position: which made me think that some island lay in that direction, for the reason I have stated above.

Isle of *Las Animas*. (Amanu.)

In fact, at five o'clock in the morning of the 1st of November, there came into view an island whose middle part bore South from us. Having diverged from the latitude of 17° 27′ on the previous day to make the isle of *San Quintin* which, according to the directions given to me by the [Naval] Commander-in-Chief in the South Sea, should lie in 17° 25′, and having steered a (corrected) course W. 1° 30′ S. in order to give it a bit of a berth and pass on the South side of it within a fair distance for sighting it, I could not but feel surprise at finding myself, in the morning, 13′ to the nor'ard (as it turned out later, by the noonday observation) of the one we had just seen. In fact, this made me doubt whether it were really the isle of *San Quintin* or no; and I therefore decided to head for it and lie by close to it until midday, so that in observing the latitude this doubt might be set at rest. By this means I should also be in a position to make some reconnaissance of it—if it should prove to be a different island—in order to give a description of it.

Following this resolve I found myself, at noon, by a very careful observation, in 17° 39′; being then about five miles, a little more or less, to the North of the point nearest to us on its northern shore-line: by which I came to know that this could not be the isle of *San Quintin* nor any one of those they had laid down for me in the track.

Feeling assured that this was a new discovery[1] I

[1] As indeed it was; and one for which Andía y Varela has nowhere received credit in the hydrographic literature of nations. Even the Adm. Sailing Directions attribute it to Bellinshausen, in 1829, probably in obedience to Findlay [Bibl. no. 39], who was misled by Krusenstern [58] and Duperrey [35 *bis*]. As a matter of fact Bellinshausen sighted it and attempted to communicate with the natives, in 1820; but his chart was not published until 1831 and his book [Bibl. no. 17], which

decided to give it the name *Isla de las Animas* (as we had come upon it on the eve of the day sacred to the memory of the departed); and although it was All Saints' day, I refrained from allotting that name to it because there was already another one of the same name among these islands.

The *Isla de las Animas* (at which I saw nothing of the Frigate) is more than seven leagues in length from N.E. to S.W. There are two other small islets at the south-western part at a distance of one and a half or two leagues off, which are covered with palms and wooded like the larger island; and on the latter some of the palms rear themselves to such a height as to fascinate the beholder. At the portion where I reconnoitred it the sea-shore is bordered with several sandy beaches of such whiteness that it appears as if Nature, having gone astray in her design to form an island, had woven a green carpet adorned with rich fringes of silver, instead.

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is in the Russian language, has never been fully translated. He called this island "Möllera," after the Russian Vice-Admiral of that name, and claimed it as a new discovery.

Had Bougainville in 1768 and Cook in 1769 passed round the North instead of the South end of *Hao*, they must have sighted *Amanu* (as *Las Animas* is called by the natives), the strait between the two being barely ten miles in width from reef to reef.

Capt. Duperrey called off it in the *Coquille* in 1823, and his Lieutenant Lottin made a running survey and a plan of the atoll which is admirably engraved in the Atlas of that voyage [Bibl. no. 35 *bis*]. For the narrative see Dr Lesson's work [62 *bis*]. *Amanu* is about 18 miles long and 8 in width, and lies N.E. and S.W. There are some fine groves of coco-nut palms at the central and N.E. parts, and some brushwood elsewhere; but from E. by the S. side round to S.W. it is not wooded and presents only a reef awash, and numerous sandbanks. There is a passage into the lagoon abreast of the village on the W. side, practicable for schooners when the wind favours them. A properly constructed well near the village supplies potable water at all seasons. The cyclones of 1903 and 1906 did much damage to the coco-nuts, pandanus, and the natives' other food supplies.

See also Bibl. nos, 4, 67, 73 (*tome* I, p. 164).

Andía's description of what he saw from his position off the middle of the N. side is remarkably applicable to the present day appearance of the island: and his discovery might now well receive official recognition in such authoritative and necessary works as the Admiralty Sailing Directions, and sundry Gazetteers.

There were seen on the same northern side certain gaps that looked like inlets communicating, no doubt, with a large lagoon that occupies the interior of the island (as could be made out from aloft), inspection of which is made easy by the flatness of the land throughout, for no eminences are to be seen other than those formed by the greater or less tallness of the groves of timber and shrubbery. In fact the land is so [nearly] flush [with the sea] that it cannot itself be seen from a greater distance than a league and a half, though the taller timber renders it visible from farther off. The shore shelves down immediately into very deep water, for I found no bottom at eighty fathoms when at a distance of five miles from it; added to which there is very little change in the colour of the water —although so near the land—which proves that this great depth extends right up to its confines.

No doubt there are people occupying it, for, though we did not see a single individual anywhere on the beach, several columns of smoke were observed. I should have liked to examine this island in greater detail all round it, and to effect a landing upon it in some wise; but the terms of the commission I carried required me to proceed to the island of AMAT with all despatch. Besides that, I was wishing to disembark the livestock I had on board in transit for that island at His Majesty's expense—which were already in a fair way to die off on my hands. Furthermore, it was my desire to effect a junction with the Comandante; and, lastly, I held no instructions to prosecute discoveries, but merely to carry out the service confided to me. These were the reasons which obliged me (against my inclination) to proceed on my course and to forego making any exact survey. I therefore continued onward, coasting along it on the northern side, and favoured by the wind, which had stood by me from the isle of *San Narciso*, from S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. to E.N.E. All the coastline along

this side is bestrewn with rocks, some short distance from the shore, and therefore I doubt whether it possesses any anchorage at all.

This island is situated, according to my computation, in lat. 17° 44′, long. 236° 43′—referring, that is, to the middle part of its northern shore-line—and lies distant from that of *San Narciso* forty-two leagues W. 11° S., true bearing; the needle showing at present in this locality 3° 30′ of variation N.E^{ly}[1].

Isle of *San Simon y Judas*. (Tauere.)

Sailing thence on a compass course W. we discovered another island on the 2nd of November, at six o'clock in the morning, bearing N.E. 5° E. by compass; from which hour I steered in that direction in order to determine whether it were the island of *Todos Santos* and whether I should find my Comandante there, for it was one of the two appointed by him as a rendez-vous. But, as we afterwards knew on comparing logs, it was the isle of *San Simon y Judas*, discovered by the Comandante himself on his previous voyage.

Finding myself by one in the afternoon about half a mile distant from the beach on the West side, I hove to for a short time so as to be able to watch the movements of the natives, and to get a good look at the island from the mast-head. This island is small and almost circular, and covered all over with dense brushwood, above which numerous palms of exceeding loftiness rear themselves. Its shores are edged with a beautiful beach of sand. It is very flat and low-lying like that of *Las Animas*; and at its

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[1] The latitude Andía quotes is correct, and his bearing and distance from *San Narciso* are computed almost exactly. The extreme northern point of *Amanu* is, however, the best to fix its position by, and lies in lat. 17° 40′ S., long. 140° 39′ W. of Greenwich.

The magnetic deviation was observed off *Hao* by Cook in 1769 to be 5° 38′ E^{ly}. Duperrey found it 6° 40′ off *Amanu* in 1823. It has increased since those dates and amounts to about 9° at the present time.

western extremity there can be made out two broad gaps which, from afar, make it look like three islets. But on a near approach it is seen that these [gaps] consist of very low and half-drowned banks, which are the less easy to be descried through having no vegetation whatever on them, and being all of pure sand. It is at these two places, no doubt, and perhaps by others we did not see, that the sea-water gains access to a broad lagoon which occupies the interior of the island: on which we noticed two large canoes.

So soon as the natives saw us near at hand they lit up two big bonfires, whose smoke seemed to be a signal for the people to collect their weapons and set about opposing the landing they imagined we were going to attempt. For we presently saw some savages appear on the beach, in line, armed with very long and stout spears. Just then, too, we observed a numerous posse of them embark in the canoes from the other side of the lagoon; and these, pushing across it with all speed, came and joined the first lot, all similarly armed. These natives are very stalwart, and a tuft they wear on the head makes them look the taller; but I could not make out whether this was artificial, or of their own hair[1]. Their colour is deep tawny; but all [are] well proportioned and lithesome. I noticed that the first batch who appeared on the beach walked in file and bore their spears erect, much as our soldiers carry their muskets at the "shoulder" when at drill. The first two, and the last, differed by letting theirs trail on the ground, from which I inferred that they were the officers of the

[1] The natives of most of the Tuamotu archipelago, and many of the Tahitians themselves, used to wear their hair long and dishevelled, but some tied it in a tuft on the top of the head to be out of the way. Occasionally, too, they wore bunches of sea-birds' black feathers stuck in the hair; so that Andía's doubt about the tuft was well founded, and helps to prove the accuracy and minuteness of his observation and the frankness of his remarks.

company; and of these, moreover, the last one was distinguished by wearing a white wrap confined at the waist by a girdle, whereas all the others went entirely nude[1].

They are a fighting race, no doubt, and possess some sort of military skill; for they give one to understand as much by their manner of marching in order, and it is certain that those who were not bearing arms scurried about like a mere disorderly rabble.

I was not able to observe the latitude off this island, because the sky was overcast; but according to my reckoning it lies in lat. 17° 15′, long. 236° 2′,—that is, its centre: from that of *Las Animas* it is distant seventeen leagues in a direction W.N.W. 5° 30′ N., true bearing, the needle showing at present a variation hereabouts of 4° N.E^{ly}. Its shores are so steep-to that, being as I have said about half a mile distant from the beach, I found no bottom at fifty fathoms; and the water had the same blue colour as the open sea[2].

After making a stay of from a half to one hour looking on at the movements of the natives I decided to fill away and put the vessel on her course.

Isle of *Los Martires* or *del Peligro.* (Tekokoto.)

Favoured by an E.S.E. breeze, and steering W. ¼ S.W., we discovered, at five o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, another island, which bore N. ¼ N.E. at a distance of five miles or so. This island, to which I gave the name of *Los Martires*, because of having fallen in with it on the day of the unnumbered Martyrs of Zaragoza, and to which or to another very like it those in the Frigate

[1] These points were, of course, matters of mere chance. Military organisation was a thing unknown to Polynesians.

[2] The island they were now leaving was *Tauere*, whose true position is lat. 17° 23′, long. 141° 30′. See p. 109, and vol. 1 as there cited.

afterwards gave the name *La Isla del Peligro*[1] by reason of the many [dangers] it presents, has, off its southern part, a round knoll whose outline is like the crown of a hat in shape. It is clothed all over with boscage which, though of moderate height, overtops the island nevertheless, through the latter being so flat and low-lying; and although it stands apart about a gunshot away [from the main island] it is connected with it to the eastward and westward by means of two reefs, forming a lagoon in the space that intervenes.

In many parts the island is washed by the tide, thus giving origin to another lagoon which occupies its centre. From the point where we observed it, it extends straight away in a S.E. and N.W. direction for a length of three leagues[2]; but on its eastern side there are far-stretching reefs whose extremities could not be seen, and there is another small knoll-shaped islet like the first one. The island is well timbered, and being clothed in its leafy mantle and encircled by sandy beaches, presents an agreeable aspect like the foregoing ones. According to my computation the knoll at its southern extreme is in lat. 17° 21′, long. 235° 2′, being distant eighteen and a half leagues W. 7° S. from the middle part of that of *San Symon y Judas*, true bearing[3].

Isle of *San Quintin*. (Haraiki.)

On the same day, the 3rd, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we got sight of another island, which bore from us W. ¼ S.W. 4° S. by compass, at a distance of about

[1] Gayangos quotes it in his log as *Los Martires* (p. 110 and p. 111, and notes). Its native name is *Tekokoto*. It had already been discovered by Capt. Cook on the 11th of August, 1773; but was now re-discovered by Boenechea and by Andía independently of each other, the former on the 1st of November and the latter on the 3rd.

[2] Its length is here much over-stated.

[3] Its position correctly stated is in lat. 17° 20′, long. 142° 35′; and its true bearing from the middle part of *Tauere* is W. 3° N., distant 61 miles.

nine miles : and, having approached to within a league or so of it by four o'clock, it was observed to extend about two and a half or three leagues E. and W. On standing still closer in we saw that it was very narrow, not exceeding a mile at its widest part. There are three smaller islands off the southern side of it, linked to the large one by reefs so disposed that they form a sort of semi-circle, with the large one for its diameter; and a beautiful lagoon is thus formed in the space between them. All four are covered with greenery; but the three little ones more so than the principal island, which besides other trees has some very tall coco-nut palms, but only towards its two extremities, particularly the eastern one. A tongue of low land runs out from the western point of the large island, tapering to a narrow spit on which the sea breaks heavily. The beach on the northern side consists of white pebbles in some parts, and sand in others ; so that, from a distance, it looks as if wholly of the latter material.

This island is that of *San Quintin*, discovered by my Comandante on the previous voyage : the which gave no sign of being inhabited. I found it, by my reckoning, to lie in lat. 17° 30′, long. 234° 15′[1] : distant from the isle of *Los Martires* seventeen and a half leagues W.¼S.W. 2° 25′ W., true bearing, calculated from the islet-knoll of *Los Martires* to the middle part of the northern shore of *San Quintin's*. This is the only island among those we met with which caused some slight discolouration of the water before coming into view.

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[1] *Cf.* Boenechea's description, vol. I, pp. 287, 288, note 1, and Plan. This island is not now permanently inhabited ; but Boenechea found people there in 1772. Andía quotes its latitude correctly : its true longitude is 143° 31′. There is a disparity between the MSS. in the figure 45′—it occurs as 15′, 25′, and 45′ in various copies. Probably 15′ was written by Andía originally, because that would correspond most nearly with his accumulated error of longitude as shown by the preceding quotations, though even 15′ seems too much.

At nine in the evening we saw much lightning to the south'ard, and the horizon on that side was noticed to be a good deal obscured. This caused me to suspect there might be some island near-by in that quarter; for which reason, and also because I found myself involved among more islands than were laid down in my sailing directions, I hove to at midnight; at which hour the wind freshened so much from the eastward that, had I stood on all night, I must infallibly have been dashed utterly to pieces on the reefs of *Todos Santos*.

Island of *Todos Santos*. (Anaa.)

When day broke on the 4th, and the wind had taken off somewhat, I filled away and steered W. 5° S. by compass, on which course we got sight, at half-past three in the afternoon, of the island of *Todos Santos*, also reconnoitred by my Comandante on the former voyage; and which now lay right ahead of us. On nearing it we luffed up to W.S.W. in order to be able to weather the southern extreme of the island; and after I had succeeded in doing so the course I was steering before sighting it was resumed.

I was not able to make any proper survey of it, as it was already almost nightfall when I reached a suitable position for that purpose. Nevertheless I could see that it was flat and well wooded like the previous ones, differing from them only in being more thickly forested with coco-nut palms. It, too, has in its centre a large lagoon fed by the sea-water flowing in over several submerged tracts, alternating with which a number of tiny islets clothed in greenery have formed themselves, and present to view some delightful patches of sweet basil[1]. We could not descry its

[1] *Albahaca* seems to offer a ready simile to Spanish seamen: Fernández de Quir mentioned it in his famous Memorial as occurring at Espiritu Santo, and he is by no means the only voyager who notes it. What Andía saw at *Anaa*, here referred to, was possibly the *miri*

circuit as it was already dusk; but I take it that it is none of the smallest, and there is no doubt that it is peopled, for we saw a big smoke.

According to my track and reckoning it lies in lat. 17° 31′, long. 232° 8′: distant from *San Quintin's* 32½ leagues W. 4° 30′ S., true bearing. This refers to the southern extreme of the said island of *Todos Santos*[1].

Deceptive cloud-banks.

Pursuing then our course W. 5° S. by compass, we sailed on until eight o'clock at night, at which hour I hove the ship to until four o'clock in the morning of the 5th of November, when I filled away on her again; and at half-past four in the afternoon, having made the same course as before, I saw something looking like the outline of land between the clouds in the direction W. 5° N., which, however, was immediately afterwards lost to view through the horizon becoming obscured. Mistrusting to draw in with this land during the night-time, and fearing lest I might overrun my distance without seeing it, I decided, at half-past seven in the evening, to heave to; and thus remained until five in the morning of the 6th when, having made all sail, I stood away again on the same course W. 5° S. with the wind variable between E. and N.E.

At six in the morning we got another view of the same land-like appearance as on the previous day, away to the W.S.W.; but having become obscured by a thick haze,

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which grows in most of the islands (*Ocymum gratissimum*, Linn); but it is difficult to know how he could identify it from his position at sea, and in the short twilight—such as there is in that latitude. So far as his description of *Anaa* goes it is a faithful one.

[1] Its true position is one mile farther S. and one degree farther W. The frigate had made the island a day earlier than the *Júpiter*, and was lying off its lee end at this time, where she lost more than a week awaiting her. *Cf.* Gayangos' journal, pp. 111–115; and see also Boenechea's in vol. I, pp 288–291, notes and Plan. The best physiographic description of *Anaa* is by Agassiz [Bibl. no. 2].

and other land showing up at eight o'clock in the N.N.W. 5° W^ly, by the needle, which although amongst clouds appeared to be nearer to us than the former, I steered towards the last with a view to discover whether it were the Island of AMAT, whose longitude, according to the track-chart supplied to me by the [Naval] Commander-in-Chief, already lay far behind me[1]. But as I got an observation at noon in 17° 23′, and the land we had in sight being then still some leagues off to the nor'ard, I knew it could not be that of which I was in search, since it lay in a lower latitude than the said Island of AMAT.

From the account of an Indian named Puhoro, one of those who are termed among those people *fatere*[2], meaning 'pilot,' which he communicated to us after our arrival at the Island of AMAT, I got to know that the land of which I have just been speaking is the island of *Mathea*, of which the Indian in question was a native. This man furthermore stated that there is great plenty of pearls at that island. It may be situated, approximately, in lat. 16° 50′, long. 230° 6′; and distant from the Isle of *Todos Santos* forty-one leagues W.N.W. 3° W.[3]

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[1] Probably a copy of the *Aguila's* track-chart of 1772–3, whereon Tahiti is placed about 8° too far to the E., being some 2° more than the position assigned to it in Boenechea's log.

[2] *Faatere*—to navigate or steer, etc.: from *tere*, to travel, and *faa*, the causative verbal prefix.

[3] This refers to *Makatea*, pronounced by Tahitians *Ma'atea*; which lies 120 miles N.N.E. from Tahiti in lat. 15° 51′, long. 148° 11′ (South end). It was discovered by Roggeveen in 1722 and by him named the *Eyland van Verkwikking*, *i.e.* Refreshment Island [Bibl. no. 90, p. 170]; but is now sometimes charted as "Aurora." It is formed of an uplifted mass of coral and phosphatic rock, and, not far from its northern end, reaches an elevation of 230 feet; being visible 20 miles in clear weather. Andía could therefore not have seen it, since by his own showing he was never nearer to it than 93 miles. His estimate of its position is a whole degree out even in *latitude*; and as the weather was thick and overcast no doubt he was deceived by cloud-banks as is often the case thereabouts. His course from the S. end of Anaa W. 5° S. by compass, to make Tahiti, was correct; and would naturally bring him within sight of *Mehetia*. See also p. 189, note.

Peak of *San Cristóbal.* (Mehetia.)

Being now undeceived as to the land I had seen being that which I was seeking, and a high peak seeming to outline itself at the same time in the S.W., as it were amongst cloud-banks, I altered my mind and headed away for the latter, with a view to reconnoitre it. In point of fact, at half-past three in the afternoon, the horizon brightened up and let me have a clear view to the S.W. ¼ W., on which course I continued steering, with light variable airs from W.N.W., N.W., S.S.E., S.W., and S.W. ¼ S. until two in the morning of the 7th, when, believing myself to be near, I tacked ship to the nor'ard. At four I tacked again to the Sou'-west, on which course I continued to steer until twelve o'clock noon—when, having got an observation, I knew it to be the peak or island of *San Christoval*, that the Indians call *Maytù*[1]. At that hour it bore S.W. 5° W. by compass, at a distance of two and a half to three leagues or so, from which I concluded that it is situated, according to my reckoning, in lat. 17° 44′ and long. 229° 34′[2]: distant from the Isle of *Todos Santos* forty-nine and a third leagues to the W. 5° S., true bearing, and from that of *Mathea* twenty-one leagues to the S.S.W. 7° 15′ W. likewise true bearing—the variation of the compass in that locality being at the present time 4° 30′ N.E^{ly}.

The wind from the S.W. quarter prevented me from approaching this island near enough to examine it more closely, as well as to find out whether its inhabitants had seen the Frigate pass; so that I pursued my way on the look out for the Island of AMAT, which is the first to be met with beyond *San Christoval*, this latter being the best sea-mark to find it by.

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[1] Now called *Mehetia*; see p. 116, note 2; and vol. I, pp. 292–297.

[2] This position is six miles too far N., and one degree too easterly.

Island of *Amat*. (o Tahiti.)

In point of fact, having made a straight track W.¼S.W. by compass, we got sight, on the 8th of November as the sun was going down, of the N.E. aspect of the Island of Amat, which its inhabitants call *Otahiti*. Seen from a distance, it looks like two high islands, with a space of two leagues between the one and the other; but in reality it is only one, being divided[1] by a short isthmus formed by two large bights that there are on the N.E. and S.W. aspects, and towards which the mountains on either side slope down so effectually that the natives easily pass it by hauling their canoes across from the one bight to the other, and thus save themselves the need to make a circuit of the island by sea.

Finding myself at sundown on the 9th now within three leagues' distance of the coast, I decided to lie to: intending to reconnoitre it on the morrow, and to ascertain whether the Comandante was at anchor in either of its harbours. This night we experienced a violent rain-squall, the wind shifting about between N. and S.W.; and when day dawned our position was from four to five miles off shore.

At ten in the forenoon several canoes filled with Indians were seen, who seemed desirous of watching our movements from a safe distance, and showed some timidity or mistrust about approaching us. But, after making a number of signs to them to come nearer, one of the canoes did so, bringing a certain Titorea, a man of valour and well-to-do, who after the death of the father of Vehiatua, the present *arii* or king of that half of the island which faces the South, had taken the widowed queen-mother to wife. As soon as he was on board I received him with all possible courtesy and welcome, and assured him of my goodwill with the expression '*tayo maytay*,' which in his language means

[1] or "connected."

'good friend,' and likewise some presents which, although of small value, were of considerable estimation to him. Following this example, and at his bidding, there came such a multitude of canoes that in a short time the store-ship was crowded with Indians who, manifesting the utmost confidence, remained on board until sundown, when they retired to the shore.

While I was engaged with these gentry I despatched the boat with my second Master Don Domingo Zeleta, the quartermaster Josef Gallardo, and five hands, with the proper precautions and arms, to reconnoitre the harbour in which my Comandante had anchored on the previous voyage, and to ascertain whether the Frigate had arrived and anchored there, or in any other place. This was the easier [of execution] in that the quartermaster had served in that vessel at the time. But when they returned they said that she had not been into that place and that not only was she not at anchor there, but she had not even been seen anywhere along the coast of the island. This intelligence was sufficiently disquieting to me, as it seemed to justify a fear lest some disaster had overtaken her among the islands we had newly discovered, seeing their very dangerous nature.

We spent all that night standing off and on, and at daybreak on the 11th, being then close in under the land, a multitude of canoes full of Indians immediately surrounded the ship; some attracted by the novelty of the sight, and others in the hope of barter, bringing wraps of native cloth, mats, plantains, coco-nuts, and other produce to exchange for hatchets, knives, shirts, and such articles of our stock as they are wont to prize. Among them there came also Titorea who, after I had shown him some further politeness, pressed me to come on shore and see the harbour of *Fatutira*. This I did, in fact; taking the quartermaster and a sufficient number of armed men

with me as my escort, and accompanied also by one Utay, an Indian of quality in the island who had such a dread of fire-arms that, on seeing sparks fly from the flint and steel of one of the seamen, he sought to throw himself into the sea, which indeed he would have done if he had not been held back. As soon as we jumped ashore we were surrounded by more than a thousand souls, who welcomed us with much friendliness and good humour. Titorea and Utay escorted us to their houses, where they entertained us with coco-nuts to drink, plantains that they distributed among the seamen, and gifts of native cloth wraps for the quartermaster and myself. Meanwhile, there fell a heavy shower of rain, with much wind, and when it was over I withdrew to the ship well pleased with the kindly demeanour and sincerity of the Indians; and satisfied, moreover, that this was not the place where the *Aguila* had lain at anchor at the time of her previous voyage.

When I got back on board I determined to examine the southern portion of the island, in the intention, notwithstanding that the wind was contrary from between E.N.E. and E.S.E., to look for the harbour of *Tayarapu*, in which the Frigate had come to an anchor on the former voyage. This occupied me until the 14th, in the course of which interval we experienced numerous heavy showers, and violent squalls of wind from between N.E. and East.

While we were off the southern extremity of the island we were encircled [on one occasion] at some distance by sixteen fishermen's canoes; but they would not approach any nearer to us, however much we called to them, from which I inferred that the natives of this southern part are more distrustful than those of the East coast.

On the same day, the 14th, at six in the evening, when we tacked ship near the shore with a view to gain a better offing, the wind fell dead away to a calm; and, although I used every endeavour to edge farther off, I was baffled by

the current which drew in towards the land so steadily that, at half-past two on the following morning, and in spite of its being a very dark night, we beheld the seething of the breakers on the reefs which encircle the island, only a very short way from us. Finding myself thus involved I set about getting the yawl and the long boat into the water to tow us clear; but, although it was stark calm, the heavy swell from the eastward gave the boats no chance of extricating the ship. In the midst of this predicament God was pleased to send us a terrific downpour of rain, with thunder and lightning, brought along by a light breeze of wind from the westward which lasted two hours, and by which I was enabled to reach well out to sea, so that when day broke I was a couple of leagues clear of the land[1].

At half-past six in the morning of the 15th I sent my second Master away in the boat to look for the harbour of *Tayarapu*, with orders to take soundings of it and pick out the best anchorage; and to afterwards station himself in the passage with a flag aloft to serve me as a mark, to the end that I might take my vessel into port there. The consideration which swayed me to this decision was that the livestock I had on board at His Majesty's expense were now in a fair way to speedily die off and perish, and it seemed expedient to get them ashore, where a stockade could be put up to herd them in at night, as well as a hut in which a dozen armed men could shelter, to graze the cattle and look after them. By this means [I hoped that] the animals might recover their condition and that the Most Excellent the Lord Viceroy's purpose of stocking the island with them would yet be attained: [a course] of which I made no doubt both His Excellency and my Comandante would equally

[1] Capt. Cook got into exactly the same trouble at this place on Augt. 16, 1773, in H.M.S. *Resolution*. *Cf.* his account, and G. Forster's [Bibl. nos. 29, vol. I, pp. 144–6, and no. 40, vol. I, pp. 260–2].

approve. At nine o'clock in the forenoon, however, I had the gratification of seeing the latter, so that the apprehension I was feeling in consequence of his lateness was relieved; and still more so when we presently recognised each other by means of our respective private signals. Just then my boat hoisted her flag in the entrance to the harbour of *Tayarapu* to guide me in; but, as I had sighted the Frigate, I signalled the former to return on board. Shortly afterwards the Comandante's boat passed me on her way towards the shore and directed me, by his order, to hoist my boats in and join company with him. This I did; and, having hailed me and ordered me to proceed on board of him, I repaired thither, where after an exchange of congratulations all round at having met together again without either vessel suffering the slightest damage, he bid me try and keep near to his ship while a reconnaissance was being made for the choice of a harbour best adapted for the vessels, with which object he had despatched his yawl, and until the weather should serve them for entering. He also handed me a proclamation in writing enjoining fair treatment and intercourse with the Indians, and, at the same time, forbidding irregularities on the part of persons belonging to the storeship towards the women. I had this read aloud and placarded on the mainmast as soon as I returned to my ship.

From the 16th to the 27th of November we experienced very variable winds blowing for the most part from the northern quarter, which were adverse for making the entrance to the harbour we were to anchor in[1]. During this interval much heavy rain fell, and we were struck by many squalls of wind that obliged us to reef the topsails.

[1] *i.e. Vaiurua*, for, at the first date, *Hatutira* was unknown to the Comandante, and it was not until after the 19th that the decision to adopt it was come to on board the frigate. *Cf.* Gayangos' Journal. Northerly winds are adverse for entering *Vaiurua*, though fair for the anchorage off *Hatutira* (otherwise *Vaitepiha* Bay).

We also noticed some ripples of current that drifted us in a southerly direction. On one of these days I was able to get a careful and exact observation of the latitude in which the southernmost point of the island is situated; for, happening to be on the same parallel myself at the time of the observation, I found it 17° 59′[1].

When day dawned on the 27th, being to windward of the harbour, with a clear sky and a light breeze from N.W. ¼ N. the Comandante made a signal to me at half-past ten in the morning to see all ready for anchoring (which in fact I had already attended to in anticipation). At the same time he sent his boat in to station herself in the passage in order to serve as a leading mark. We then stood after her as far as the anchorage, where I let go at half-past three in the afternoon, after the Frigate, in the haven of *Fatutira*, on which she bestowed the name of *La SS^ma Cruz*.

III.

[*Particular Occurrences while in port at Hatutira, and Descriptive Remarks.*]

ALTHOUGH the harbour has enough extent for from four to six vessels, it in reality only affords shelter to one small one; because the passage, formed between the reefs on either side, being almost as wide as the haven within, they must lie exposed to winds from the N.E., N., and N.W. which set in there with great force and raise a very lumpy sea—especially near about the full of the moon, at which time continual storms of wind and rain accompanied by awesome thunder and lightning are experienced. In such

[1] The true lat. is 17° 52′ 20″. Both the printed versions and all the MSS. excepting one have 17° 59′. In the Ultramar copy these figures are expressed *in writing*. The one exception is the copy in the *Real Academia de la Historia*, which reads "17 *grados y* 50 *ms.*" Perhaps Andía wrote 53′ and the original copyist read 9′ for 3′.

circumstances one has (as seamen say) "no shelter but that of one's buoy"; so that it is necessary to be provided with reliable ground tackle, for, the holding ground being good, one is sure of the anchors getting a good grip. It is well in such cases to lay out an additional anchor or two ahead, for greater safety, inasmuch as no purpose can be served by keeping them on board [in reserve], however ready they may be [for letting go]; because, if the ones holding her out North should fail you, the ship must drive ashore before any others then let go could bring her up[1].

The spot[2] where the storeship lay at anchor is behind the point of the reef which borders the passage into the harbour on its eastern side, and there the sea keeps fairly tranquil because of the reef in front of it; but the nearness of the shoal water extending from N. by way of E. round to S. leaves only enough room for one small vessel. The northernmost anchor should be let go close to the aforementioned point of the reef, in nine or ten fathoms water[3]; and the southernmost one towards the ravine, inclining a little to the W. of it, where there will be found five fathoms. The bottom is of ooze and sand in both places, and by following these marks one may avoid the foul ground that stretches in an easterly direction from opposite the said ravine. Riding with a range of little short of half the cable on the northern anchor, and rather more than two thirds out on the southern one, we had in this position seven fathoms under the vessel's hull at low water, and seven and a half at full tide.

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[1] There is not room for a long range of cable from where the ship herself lies in shelter; and farther out in the passage the water is too deep.

[2] See the French Admiralty chart no. 3825, a portion of which is shown here (facing p. 120); and *cf.* Hervé's plan no. I, in the pocket.

[3] The copy in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* has "90 *à* 100 *brazas*," which cannot be correct: other copies read "*nueve o diez brazas*" in words, which accords with the chart.

As soon as the anchor has been dropped one should attend to getting the vessel securely moored on the one hand, and send down the yards and strike the topmasts on the other; and also unbend sails, and unreeve all the running gear that is least needed, because it rains a great deal and the ropes get rotten.

This harbour has a river of very nice water in the interior of the ravine[1]; but at its mouth, where it discharges itself, it gets spoilt by the sea-water finding its way into it. At a mile or so to the westward of the anchorage, however, there is a cove just by some Indian homesteads where one meets with water of the most exquisite quality in abundance, flowing down from the hills in several streamlets to within six or eight paces of the sea, where it loses itself in the sand[2]. For this reason, and because there is no swell thereabouts that could endanger the safety of launches, this place offers great facilities for filling water casks; being protected by the reefs which stretch in front of it and break the force of the sea outside them, while leaving it calm within. Besides this, several launches can water there at the same time, as the cove is broad; and being also fairly deep quite close to the shore they can approach within four or five *varas* of the beach.

As to wood for [the ship's] consumption, I am of opinion that it may best be brought from Lima to last the whole voyage; because that which is nearest at hand is the wood of the bread-fruit tree that the Indians call *Urû*, a kind of fig-tree, which, besides having to be shipped green, does not burn brightly even when dry but smoulders

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[1] The *Vaitepiha* river or stream, in the ravine called *Ataaroa*.

[2] The sand, being washed up by the surf in strong northerly winds, forms a barrier or dam across the mouth of the rivulet, whose waters are thus held back in a pool at the surface; but they sink through the sand and find their exit by percolation on the beach almost as fast as they are fed from the rills on the mountain side above. It forms an ideal watering place.

like straw. In addition to this, the natives strongly resent the cutting down of one of these trees, because its fruit forms their principal article of diet; and they only agree to it when tempted with compensation. It is the same with many other kinds of trees met with round about the shore belt where the Indians live; for, though the wood of all is soft and spongy and unfit for firewood, they are all of use to the natives because some of them yield fruits for their sustenance and others afford barks [out of which they prepare material] for their clothing. No doubt there are some good timbers in the mountains of the interior, but they would be difficult of transport to the sea-coast both by reason of the rugged nature of the country and of the distance: and this could only be accomplished at the cost of much time and of knocking up the crew, owing to the want of drays[1].

Situation of *Hatutira*.

The harbour of *Fatutira* is situated, according to my computation and reckoning[2], in lat. 17° 45′, and in long. 228° 56′. On the day after our arrival there I took my log-book to Don Juan Hervé, the Master of the Frigate, by order of the Comandante; and on comparing the two vessels' log-books together there was shown a difference of 3 degrees and 3 minutes[3] westing, in this wise, that I had found the island, as well as all the others seen up to that time, to lie farther West than had the navigating officers of the Frigate. This

[1] He might better have said 'tracks'—and 'bullocks.'

[2] This latitude is correct to a matter of seconds. The longitude quoted is equivalent to 147° 43′ West of Greenwich, or 150° 04′ reckoning from Paris. Andía was therefore only 1° 26′ 30″ astray: whereas the navigator of the Frigate was 4° 58′ 30″ in error, besides being inexact in his latitude. *Cf.* p. 123.

[3] The Paris printed version [Bibl. no. 47 (c)] has "3 *grados y minutos*," from which it appears that the figure denoting minutes has been accidentally omitted. The Santiago printed version [Bibl. no. 7 (b)] has "3° 3′." The Ultramar MSS. has the same—but the actual difference was 3° 32′; and it seems possible that in these the figure 2 denoting the units has been overlooked also.

disparity was attributed to the variance existing between the half-minute glasses we had respectively used in heaving the log; but in reality, in spite of that conjecture, no appreciable disparity could result from that cause even if they differed by one or two seconds, because it rarely happens in navigation that a vessel keeps up an even rate of sailing in the intervals between the hours when the log is hove; and in point of fact that appliance merely aids the Master to form a guarded estimate of the ship's [average] speed. It is pretty certain that if he noted in his journal the distance run as indicated by this appliance the reckoning would generally turn out incorrect; bearing in mind the many changes we experience at sea from one moment to the next, according as the breeze freshens or takes off and other accidental circumstances intervene, to cause the reckoning based on the log alone to prove in advance or short of the truth occasionally. And therefore I believe our disparity proceeded from some other cause. It is at any rate certain that on consulting a small inset of this island and others near it, met with in the [printed account of the] voyage of Bonganbil, who made repeated astronomical observations of the longitude here, I found the position of *Fatutira* harbour only 25 minutes more to the westward by my own computation than that assigned to it in the said inset[1]. And when we were off the outer[2] island of Juan Fernandez during our return voyage towards El

Disquisition on the log-line and glasses.

[1] The note-book containing the records of observations, lunar and stellar, taken on shore at Hitiaa by Bougainville's astronomer, M. Verron, was made off with by the natives and lost. Of his subsequent observations, which were eleven in number taken on board the *Boudeuse* on the eve of sailing, the results differed by more than 7°. M. de Bougainville depended on the mean of these results for fixing the position of Tahiti on his very sketchy chart (*cuarteroncito* as Andía terms it), but never quotes the long. or lat. in his text; though he says Verron considered it "assez exact" [Bibl. no. 19, p. 209, and Pl. 8 facing p. 185].

[2] Usually known as 'Masafuera.'

Callao I had only 4 minutes' error, and my second Master only 7 minutes', which proves that the half-minute glass was not at fault; for, had such been the case, the difference between my longitude and that astronomically observed by Bouganbil would not have been so small, but of some seventy or eighty leagues, as was estimated theoretically (at the time of the comparison) from the distance sailed and the variance of two seconds that my half-minute glass showed in excess of the one they had been using on board the Frigate. Still, I must not omit to mention that my half-minute glass and the one the Frigate carried were tested before the expedition started, and both then ran out in 28 seconds, which is the time corresponding to 42 English feet[1] (the measure we Spaniards employ) for the mile. But afterwards, when I had returned to Lima, I compared my glass with a pendulum of great accuracy, and it took 29 seconds. From this one may infer that the Frigate's

[1] "The nautical mile being about 6080 feet, we have, ... for the glass of 28 seconds, the knot $= \frac{6080 \times 28}{3600} = 47{\cdot}3$, or 47 feet 4 inches; and so for any other glass" [Raper].

"As it is safest to have the reckoning ahead of the ship (to apprise the seaman the sooner to look out when approaching the land) an allowance in the length of the knot is made such that it shall obviate any causes of error arising when heaving the log: hence, for practical purposes at sea the length of the nautical mile is often taken to be 6000 feet. The exact length is 47'·29 (=47 ft. 3½ in. nearly) calculated on the Admiralty mile of 6080 ft. The true mean nautical mile measures, however, 6076·91 ft." [Norie].

"Many glasses are made for twenty-eight seconds, which of course reduces the number of feet for a knot to forty-seven and six-tenths. But, as the line is liable to stretch and the glass to be affected by the weather, in order to avoid all danger of a vessel's over-running her reckoning, and to be on the safe side, it is recommended to mark forty-five feet to the knot for a twenty-eight seconds glass" [Dana].

"In practice a 45-feet length of knot is found to correspond best with a 28-seconds glass. The difference is caused by the log-ship coming home when hove: and 47 feet gives the distance run too small" [Thomas].

The figure 42 quoted by Andía as the number of English feet in a knot seems therefore to call for explanation, which *may* lie in a difference between the British Admiralty mile of 6080 feet and the length of the *legua* adopted by Andía in computing his day's run, concerning which he gives us no precise clue. *Cf.* the extract from Don Jorge Juan's journal in the well-known work by Don Antonio de Ulloa.

glass became accelerated by one second, and that mine got retarded by one second ; and that thereby the difference of two seconds, which we observed between them at Otahiti, came about. The sand used in the two glasses was of different quality. Heat, cold, moisture, and dryness cause varying alterations in bodies, according to their different nature or substance ; to which the greater or less attention bestowed on the precautions necessary for preserving them against such alterations largely contributes —their demonstration is, however, more properly the function of a physicist than of a shipmaster. But, since this cannot be doubted, any person will feel convinced that a shipmaster ought not to blindly trust to his log-line ; especially when one considers the defects to which this appliance is liable not only from the inconstancy of the dimensions of the line itself, which vary from day to day and call for frequent correction (though this is seldom attended to), but also from the difficulty of handling it with precision. For, whilst it is necessary that the end of the line running out shall maintain a stable position in the water before it can measure the way the vessel is making, nothing is in fact more unstable than that position : its constancy depending upon a small strip of board (called the log-ship), loaded with a little lead whose function is merely to make it float upright in the water. In practice, it happens that when there is a following sea the log-ship 'comes home' with the surge, and the line indicates a slower rate of sailing than the ship is actually doing ; when, on the contrary, there is a head sea, it causes too much line to run out and makes it appear that the vessel is sailing faster than she really is. To this must be added the effort that the wind, clumsiness of hand on the part of the person conducting the operation, and the line's own weight, exert against the log-ship, and lastly the current—all of which are very powerful foes to the stability of its position.

All that has been said about the appliance of the log amounts to no more than to make it clear that its employment merely serves to afford the navigator some sort of basis upon which, using caution, he may estimate the distance made good by his vessel in each day's run; and that it matters little whether his half-minute glass is a trifle fast or slow. From which it may be inferred that the disparity in longitude we found at the time when we compared our journals did not depend upon the variance existing between the log-glasses, but [proceeded from] some other cause or causes.

Physical features.

The Island of OTAHITI will extend some thirty to forty leagues in circumference, its outline being like unto a figure 8 and girt about all round with reefs. The land is high, very rugged and well wooded, and abounds in pasturage, so that all kinds of animals may breed there in plenty. It is no less adapted for planting crops of every kind, save for a prodigious multitude of rats; which must lay waste the seed-beds at times. Still, by burning off the grass country when dry, numbers of these [pests] would be destroyed, and the rest driven away to the mountains as happens in other places; supplementing this means by plenty of cats, which wreak a horrible slaughter amongst them, as was seen with those the missionary *Padres* brought.

Natives' legendary accounts of their own origin.

The Indians vary in their statements about the first inhabitants of their island. Some say that they were *Hoitore*, with his lady named *Teipo* and their son *Teihiotua*, *Oaiya* and his lady *Tetuaearo*, with *Tamatahiapo* their son, *Oaeripo* and his lady *Tetuaura*[1]; and that,

[1] These names are quite compatible with Tahitian phonology and etymology. Their spelling varies a little but not essentially in the several MSS. It is a matter for note, however, that neither Taaroa, Hina, Tepapa, Tane, nor Oro is mentioned in connection with origins.

having embarked in a canoe and sailed from the island of *Oriayatea*[1] bound for another one near to it, they were overtaken by a strong westerly wind which obliged them to scud before it, and that while running willy-nilly to the eastward they beheld Otahiti. They managed to gain one of its harbours ; and, not seeing any people, they spied out the land and found it to be very fruitful and abounding in all things necessary for human life. On this they decided to remain in the island, since it afforded a wider domain and greater wealth than they possessed in their own country.

Others aver that several persons of both sexes doubtless did leave *Oriayatea* in a canoe for another island near-by it, that they encountered the storm which it is said occurred, and that having descried the island of Otahiti they tried to get into safety there ; but that, when nearing the shore, their craft got swamped and the greater part of those in it were eaten by sharks—only *Oirimiro* and his lady *Oavahi* being saved. These [two], finding themselves in a land of plenty, and without any canoe in which to return to their own country, determined to pass the remainder of their lives there. And they tack on a legend to the effect that[2] the pair afterwards had two daughters, who were left orphans and alone in the island through the death of their parents ; and that when they reached a marriageable age two men, natives of *Oriayatea*, named *Taniuri* and *Ohanuitea*[3] were snatched up by their gods, who assumed the form of two great birds[4] and conveyed them on their backs through the air to Otahiti to provide spouses for the

[1] Andía everywhere writes *Ra'iatea* as above, which is curious and unaccounted for. The redundant *i* occurs in no other document.

[2] M. Ternaux's MS. here reads (as printed) *y agregan la fabula de que*, etc. Sor Arellano's copy (as printed by Vidal Gormaz) reads *agregandose á esta relacion la fabula de que*, etc.

[3] Probably should be written "Taneuri" and "Aonuitea."

[4] A common and consistent form of vehicle or embodiment for gods and mythological spirits in the legends of many nations.

maidens. From their nuptials, and from alliances between certain other families, who, gaining intelligence of Otahiti in course of time, went to it from *Oriayatea* and other islands, the teeming numbers of inhabitants who now people the place are descended. Be that as it may, all agree that it was first peopled from the Occident, since *Oriayatea*, as will be seen in due course, lies forty-five leagues to the westward of Otahiti.

Ethnological conjecture.

From this it may be inferred that the dwellers in this island, as well as those peopling the adjacent ones and even others that lie more to the south'ard and farther East, come of Asiatic stock. For since, according to the accounts of various navigators, one cannot doubt the multiplicity of islands that exist in the South Sea, both on the side of New Guinea, or of New Zealand, and round about the Molucas, the Marianas, and many others that have not yet come to light, it is quite natural [to suppose] that they may have passed from island to island from the West towards the East. And although the Galapagos Islands and those of Gallegos, which are the nearest ones to America, may link up those still undiscovered so as to form a cordon, and even join hands with those others of which I speak, yet I find it difficult to believe that the natives of Otahiti have sprung from America. For, in the first place, the nearest of the Galapagos Islands is a hundred and fifty leagues distant from the continent, off Cape San Lorenzo (according to the French chart corrected to the year 1756)[1], and at the time of the conquest the Indians of America had no know-

[1] The nearest island of the Galápagos Group to Cape Lorenzo (which is in lat. 1° S. on the coast of Ecuador) lies exactly 500 miles due W. from that headland. This remark about the position of the Galápagos Islands bears out the view that the chart referred to was Robert de Vaugondy's in De Brosses, or one on which that was founded. See note on p. 225.

ledge of vessels capable of making so long a passage; and secondly, these latter are as a rule beardless, whereas those of Otahiti and the other islands we saw are a hirsute people, and wear their beards long, after the style of Asiatics. On the whole, each person will form the opinion he prefers; but this is how it appears to me[1].

Physical and personal characteristics of the natives.

The natives of this island, like those of all the neighbouring ones, are in general stout and well formed. There is much variety in their hue, and in their hair. Some have the appearance of zambos, others of [full-blooded] Indians, others mulatos, others quadroons[2], and others still are even fairer. The same [variety] obtains in regard to their hair; for in some it is quite crisp, in others less so, and in most it is smooth. There are a few very fair-skinned ones with blue eyes. They possess good features, for the most part, and would look still better were it not general amongst them all to be snub-nosed[3]: this shortcoming, accompanied as it is by the natural vivacity with which God has endowed them, makes them very winsome. They are very light-hearted, agile, and lusty; they swim like fish, so that a distance of two or three leagues offers no hindrance to them against reaching the shore with ease.

The women are few in number, as compared with the men; but they are for the most part tall, with handsome figures, and as regards beauty need not envy those of other countries. They are very endearing, and possess great

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[1] Andía's conclusions on this subject are in accord with the views now generally accepted by ethnologists.

[2] A *mulato* is the offspring of a Spaniard and a negress. A *zambo* is the son of a *mulata* by an Indian father, of South or Central America. A quadroon (*cuarterón*) is the offspring of any half-white and a white.

[3] The word in all the MSS. and both the printed versions is *ñatos* —which is not proper Castilian, but an Asturian colloquialism used commonly in Mexico, Ecuador, Peru and Chile—and is equivalent to *chato* and *nacho*.

charm; and although there are some dissolute hussies amongst them, as in every place, those who do not belong to that class evince modesty in their habiliments, their mien, and their behaviour[1].

The men are indolent, and little disposed to work: the soil, it is true, provides them with everything necessary for their subsistence, without labour.

The women, on the contrary, are workers; they assist the men in the cultivation of such few plants as they do put in, and employ the rest of their time in making strips of cloth and other light stuffs from the bark of trees, which is an arduous occupation; and in plaiting mats, of which they turn out some exceedingly fine ones all [made] of palmetto and the bark of trees. They also work up loin-cloths, ponchos, and other articles; and not even those of principal social rank are exempted from this industry[2]. Only does the law relieve them from cooking for the men: neither do they themselves eat anything that the men have cooked, for they believe that some serious ill would befall them [if they did so]. It is furthermore forbidden to the women to eat in the men's presence, be it husband, son, kinsman or stranger who is there; because they look upon man as possessing a dignity above their own, and hold it to be disrespectful to eat in front of him.

Nor may sons eat in the presence of their fathers, nor even of their uncles and kinsmen senior to them in age; for they regard it as [an act of] irreverence. As a rule, children only live with their parents while they are quite young; but, when they grow up, those of either sex part company and withdraw to live by themselves.

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[1] *Cf.* Dr Commerson's letter on the character of the Tahitians and their social 'atmosphere' printed in this volume. Also Bougainville [Bibl. no. 19, Part II, Chap. 3]: J. R. Forster [Bibl. no. 41, Chap. 6]: Banks [Bibl. no. 10, Chap. 7]: Cook [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, pp. 187–8].

[2] On this point Ellis [Bibl. no. 36, vol. II, pp. 177–8] may be read with advantage: and also Moerenhout [Bibl. no. 73, vol. II, p. 119].

Theft: and its penalty.

They mostly all have a propensity for stealing, whether among themselves or from strangers. We experienced many thefts, and we seized some of the delinquents; but we nevertheless did not venture to punish them, for fear of causing irritation, wishing rather to seal them in their friendly relations with us in order that the attainment of our Sovereign's aims might be thereby rendered the more easy. This offence is punishable among themselves by the death penalty: the victim's hands and feet being lashed up to his neck in a bunch, after which he is made fast to a large stone and thrown into the sea[1].

Cult.

No religion but idolatry[2] is known to them. Each person figures to himself the divinity or divinities he will worship, out of his own fancy; but they believe that these are visible only to the *Epures*, who are their priests, and that they conceal themselves from those who have made choice of and worship them. Every person has several different gods: if he be sailing afloat he has one for the wind, another for the sea, another for the fishery—to whom they dedicate the first fish they catch by throwing a morsel of it back into the sea: another for their daily subsistence, for whom they set apart a little snack of each victual before beginning to eat, and which, if there be a *maray* or temple hard by, they set atop of a little bower that adjoins each such place, or expose on the roof of their house if the *maray* be far away[3].

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[1] *Cf.* J. R. Forster [Bibl. no. 41, p. 364].

[2] 'Polytheism' would have been a better definition.

[3] The "bower" was an oblation slab or trencher usually made of wood, reeds, or plaited coco-nut leaves, raised on posts, and surmounted by branches of the sacred *miro* tree (*Thespesia populnea*, Soland.). Some of these, in the *marae*, were elaborate and ornate structures, large enough to support many pigs, etc.; but the smaller domestic altars were very simple affairs.

When any one falls ill he applies to the *Epure*[1] or priest, who, besides being an expert in the law, is likewise a spiritual physician. This latter goes away into the bush: brings in a small plantain sucker: and, seated by the side of the sick person, utters sundry invocations in the course of which he offers up the treelet to the *Teatua*[2] or god of the invalid and prays for his [restoration to] health: after this he betakes himself off without administering any remedy to him, beyond leaving the plantain shoot[3] there.

The *Epures*, and none else, build the *marayes*[4] or temples whose structure consists of a sort of amphitheatre, some raised higher than others, and a fence built entirely of dressed stones. There are certain stones to be seen in these *marae* stuck, some into the ground itself and others into the amphitheatre, which do duty as leaning-stocks when those who meet together for their religious ceremonies sit down at those spots; but only the *Epure*, and the *arii*[4] and his brother, do sit down there, and although some of these stones remain vacant they pertain to the deceased fathers and ancestors of these [personages] and nobody may seat himself against them. All these *marae* or temples are the King's, and no private person may raise any. The *Epures* have their dwellings hard by, so that to them is entrusted the guardianship of the *marae*; and they do not allow any person—even of the natives themselves—

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[1] *E pure* means the act of prayer or worship: the priest himself was *tahua pure*—master of sacred ceremonial, or praying expert.

[2] *i.e. te Atua*—God.

[3] Banks, but not as an eye-witness, says "branches of the *Thespesia populnea*" [Bibl. no. 10, p. 168].

[4] The *marae*, as every student of Polynesian lore knows, were enclosed holy places of sepulture, sacrifice, offerings, orisons, revelation, and oracles. See two good engravings in Bibl. no. 96, pp. 207, 211. Conformably to note 1, page 13 of vol. 1, the word *arii* is met with everywhere in Andía's journal as *Eri*, but is now printed *arii* for the sake of intelligibility, whether occurring in the singular or plural. Similarly the word *marae*, which occurs in Andía's journal as *maray*, plural *marayes*, is henceforward printed *marae* for clearness.

to enter the precincts nor to pass in proximity to their surroundings. For they say that if they were to permit any one to enter or approach a *marae* the *Tupapau* would come by night and torment not only the defunct to whom the *marae* is dedicated, but the *Epures* as well, and would do them no end of mischief: from which I conclude that they possess some conception or understanding of the immortality of the soul. They regard this *Tupapau* as a sort of malignant spirit borne down through the air in the guise of a vapoury apparition or fiery serpent to wreak injury on their crops or trees or, it may be, to their health. They believe that it kills young children, and attribute both disease and death to its wiles. They suppose that it lays its ban by night, for which reason they all return home to their dwellings as the sun goes down, for fear lest they should be maltreated by it if it should find them abroad[1].

Funeral ceremonies.

When any great personage such as a member of the R[1] family, or a high Chief among subjects, dies, the King and all the great folk comprised in that family, and the District head Chiefs and deputies, assemble together. Each one carries a piece of new cloth to the deceased, and a small plantain shoot. They all form into two lines and walk in a procession towards the deceased's house, preceded by two of his female relatives distinguished from the rest by wearing small mat vestments of very fine quality which they call *ahuaras*[2], without any protection of cloth at all, excepting a strip they carry in the hand to receive the blood that they

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[1] *Tupapau*—a shade, ghost, or bogie, like the Fijian *yanitu*. Belief in apparitions is general among Polynesians and Melanesians; and seems to constitute an inherent element in that feeling of reverential awe for the memory of one's forefathers, which is often miscalled 'ancestor worship.'

[2] Probably *ahu fara*: vestments made of the leaves of *fara* or screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*, Linn.).

draw from their heads by means of a shark's tooth[1] with which they scarify themselves in token of grief; which action they accompany by various lamentations. As each mourner arrives in rotation before the deceased he places the piece of cloth he is carrying at the feet [of the corpse], and lays down the plantain sucker in front of the widow, who occupies a seat near the deceased; and each one offers her at the same time some words of condolence.

After the followers have retired the *Epure* proceeds with four bearers to convey the deceased to the *marae*, where he offers it to his *Teatua*; and, after having repeated sundry orisons they bring it back to the house, in whose vicinity a sort of barbecue or staging has been erected on four upright posts an *estado*[2] in height upon which they deposit the body, wrapped in some lengths of native cloth[3]. There they leave it to putrefy, until only the bones remain. I was not able to find out for certain what the final resting-place for the bones is; for some say that if they have relatives these burn them, while others declare that if they have not any they are buried in the earth. This much, however, is sure, that with the exception of such skulls as I saw in one *marae*, I came across no other bones. The only relics the parents or children do preserve are portions of the hair of the deceased.

Marriage and infanticide.

The marriage tie among these natives consists merely in the mutual consent of the two consorts; but if they have fathers they are expected to abide by the latter's wishes. These unions are binding if attended by issue;

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[1] The words *de tiburon* (shark's) in the Santiago copy are wanting in M. Ternaux's, as printed. The several MSS. at Madrid have *tauron* for *tiburon*, which means the same.

[2] An *estado* is a measure of length equal to two *varas*—say 5½ English feet.

[3] The above account describes the obsequies of Pahairiro o Pahihaariro (?), *arii* of Pueu, who was Vehiatua's uncle.

but, when there are no children, the parties consider themselves as single and may separate and contract a new alliance with some other person when they choose. A man is not permitted to have more than one wife [at the same time], nor may she have more than one husband. This is an important element towards facilitating the introduction of the catholic religion: for one cannot doubt that depriving infidels of their plurality of women has been one of the chief impediments to its success, as may be observed in such progress as apostolic missionaries have made in the East and West Indies and other places.

Adultery is an abominable fault in women and is strongly condemned among these people ; but an adulterous woman gets only such punishment as her husband chooses to inflict on her—except in the event of giving birth in consequence, when they instantly deprive the innocent offspring of life, who thus pays the penalty of the crime. The same takes place in the cases of natural children, so that it may be said that all the inhabitants of the island are of legitimate birth. They likewise recognise the gravity of incest, and on this account persons of near kin can not intermarry with one another.

Tahuas' harangues.

The *Epures* or priests hold frequent discourse in the *arii*'s house and in the dwellings of the commoners, sometimes during the day, and sometimes at night ; it did not appear that all the villagers attended on such occasions, but merely the members of the householder's family and a few others. It was not possible to learn with certainty what theme these harangues were dedicated to ; but it may be inferred that their purpose is to preserve the traditions of their rites, of the deeds of past and present great Chiefs (for they frequently mention their names), and to pass censure on offences against their gods and rulers.

Chiefs' tribute.

The *arii*, or kings, are absolute lords over life and property, for the subject owns no thing that is not given up to the King if he should ask for it. In this way it was observed that, to do honour and make presents to certain *arii* who came over from other islands to pay visits to Begiatua[1], during our stay, this Chief despatched his messengers to collect from the houses of his subjects a quantity of wraps, *parguayes*[2] (which is a fine white tissue similar to muslin, made of bark), mats, hogs, fowls, and every sort of provisions. This comprises all the tribute they render to the King ; and there is no fixed assessment of it, since he calls for it in any quantity and at whatever times he chooses.

Offences and penalties.

There are other serious crimes besides stealing (which, as has been said above, they punish with death) that are visited with the same penalty by cutting off the heads of the delinquents and scooping out their eyes, which are presented to the King by the hand of a high Chief, to be eaten by him. He, however, only goes through the formality of raising them to his lips, and then throws them down. During the infliction of a punishment the King is borne on the shoulders of the highest nobles of his realm[3]. They also punish some offences by banishment, for which purpose certain islands in his dominions are appointed, as is the case with *Maitù*[4], or *Sⁿ Christoval*, which is subject to the rule of Vehiatua, *arii* of the south-eastern moiety of the Island of AMAT. There is no other tribunal or judge

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[1] *i.e.*, Vehiatua.

[2] Meaning *paruai*—pieces or strips of native cloth.

[3] This attitude was not limited to witnessing punishments. Special bearers were appointed, not Chiefs of rank but selected strong men whose persons became sacred and honourable by virtue of their office. *Cf.* Bibl. no. 8: no. 96 *passim*: no. 36, vol. II, pp. 348–50: etc.

[4] *Mehetu*, now *Mehetia*.

for trying the cases of offenders but the *arii*, and, in his absence, a governor-general of the Kingdom: in the case of Vehiatua, a *Tahaytoa*[1] is deputed to fill this office.

Status of Tu.

The government of the other Kingdom, which occupies the north-western side, is constituted in the same way. Its *arii* is called Otù, whose status only differs from Vehiatua's in certain ceremonies that show him to be a ruler of greater power, and more elevated rank—such as being fed by the hand of another person (when he is eating among his own people, but not when he eats abroad), and not being able to enter any house, even that of his own parents, because they believe it would instantly collapse and fall about the ears of every one in it[2]. They also differ in other formalities as singular as this, which I omit. The *arii* Otù measures seven feet, or three and a half cubits of our ship-yards, in height, all but an inch and a half[3]. He is very robust, well set up, and duly proportioned in all his body; but somewhat coarse featured. He keeps on good terms with Vehiatua, notwithstanding that they were formerly at war with each other[4]. During the time of our stay in the harbour of *la SS^ma Cruz de Fatutira* he remained there

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[1] *i.e.*, *Iatoai toa*, a sort of martial landholder or baron—a Lord Lieutenant, High Sheriff and Puisne Judge in one. The position was hereditary, according to District.

[2] Tu's presence, as Lord paramount, was considered to make the ground he stepped on *tapu* or sacred; and any house that he entered (with certain particular exceptions) had therefore to be abandoned as a dwelling-place for inferiors in rank.

[3] A Spanish foot being equal to 0·278 of a metre [Bibl. no. 65] seven of them would measure 1·946 metres or about 76½ English inches. Deducting the 1½ inches mentioned we have 6 ft. 3 in. remaining as Tu's height; and this accords *exactly* with the measurement taken by Forster. *Cf.* vol. I, p. 319, note 1. According to Vidal Gormaz [Bibl. no. 94 (*a*)] a *codo* or cubit is equal to 24½ inches of Burgos, or 0·569 of a metre.

[4] This statement is inaccurate. Tu's faction under Tutaha, had a war with Vehiatua's father.

as a guest, with his parents, brothers, and other members of his family, living in separate houses provided for them by Vehiatua, who even gave up a piece of ground for him to have a house of his own built on to live in as often as it might please him to pay a visit to the missionary *Padres*.

A rebellion.

In the event of any rebellion being instigated by the subjects of either of them they give assistance to each other mutually with their people, to put down the sedition. I was an eye-witness of this; for, Vehiatua having banished his vassals from one of his districts close to *Fatutira* into the hill country of the interior, because they had not rendered him the tribute he had requisitioned, these revolted and won over the people who dwelt farther up the ravine that leads down to the harbour, with whom they plotted to take the *arii*'s life in order to place the sovereignty in another's hands. When the conspirators were ready to march against their Chief, word reached him of their intention, and the two *arii* Otù and Vehiatua set out without the slightest delay, with all their household and clansmen whom they were able to collect quickly, armed only with staves and stones. The rebels came forward to the encounter, the signal for attack was sounded on a kind of drum, and they gave battle to each other on a fairly wide tract of stony ground formed by the stream at the entrance of the ravine of *Fatutira*[1]. The combat lasted but a short while, the field being abandoned to the royalists, who promptly set fire to the rebels' houses and carried off with them to the harbour portions of the thatch, furniture and other chattels, as the spoils and signals of triumph. Two of the ringleaders of the conspiracy were

[1] To be more exact Andía should have written 'formed by the *Vaitepiha* stream above where it presently issues from the ravine of *Ataaroa* to discharge itself into the bay at *Fatutira*.' Webber executed a handsome drawing in water-colour tints, looking up the ravine. [Bibl. no. MSS. 25—K 7, Tab. 74.]

left dead on the field and the rest were so roughly handled that they got a severe lesson and had their spirit broken[1]. They were still more scared when they saw the greater part of the marines from the Frigate, for whom Vehiatua had made request, being landed under the orders of Ensign Don Nicolas de Toledo, by direction of the Comandante. The Indians, and even Vehiatua and Otù themselves, took this to mean that they were going to support the royalists, but in reality they went for no other purpose than to protect our own people engaged in putting together the house for the missionary *Padres*. Let us not omit to pay a tribute to the figure cut by a brother of Otù, named Inoy[2], a lad of some eighteen years and fine presence, who, having acquired an old naval uniform, dressed himself in it to march to the field of battle, where it hindered him nothing from running with agility.

Weapons.

In time of war all the natives in the island are soldiers, excepting the women and such males as are prevented either by their tender or advanced age. Their weapons are slings and cudgels, which they handle with astonishing dexterity, especially the latter, with which they can defend themselves against a sword without their opponent being able to get a cut in, skilful fencer though he be. I speak from the experience of a friendly trial which took place between Titorea, the step-father of Vehiatua, and a member of the storeship's crew—a smart enough adept in fencing with the Spanish sword.

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[1] *Cf.* Gayangos' and also the Interpreter's account of this scrimmage in their respective Journals—pp. 138–9, and vol. III.

[2] The present representative of the Pomare family, of which Tu was the first to adopt that name, and in some senses the founder, is called 'Hinoi' after this or an earlier common ancestor. Some of the MSS. and the *Anuario hidrográfico* have 'Ninoy'; but the N is an error for H. The Paris version prints 'Inoy.' *Cf.* p. 137, note 2.

Archery competitions.

They employ bows and arrows, which they project with incredible force; for, when aiming them almost perpendicularly overhead, they nevertheless go to earth as far as two musket-shots away. From this one may conceive what a height they ascend to; and it is a fact that, out of more than fifty arrows that I saw shot by different Indians one morning when the atmosphere happened to be very clear, I was unable to see their upward limit or the beginning of their descent in any single instance, no matter how carefully I watched; for they became indistinct and lost to view in the air. But, for all that, they only make use of them for sport, for which only the District Chiefs and other personages meet together, who mount in turn a sort of stage built of stones from whence they proceed to compete, and to prove who amongst them excels in strength and marksmanship. With this object they station a number of boys in the highest trees and palms, at different distances off, to watch the fall of the shaft and call out whether it hits or misses the mark. On the morning when I witnessed this entertainment one of the arrows struck a boy who was playing with some mates of his own age at a distance of more than twice the range of a musket, piercing the calf of his leg from top to bottom.

I make no doubt about their not using this weapon in their warfare because I noticed that in the act of discharging the arrow they let the bow drop from their hands; for the reason that if they did not so, the recoil of the string would cut the hand grasping the bow[1], and it would be a difficult matter to recover it in the rush and bustle of the throng. I remarked that no fires were lighted in any of the houses

[1] Most native races who use the bow in warfare employ a protective wristlet: one such that I obtained at *Malakula* (New Hebrides) in 1876 was made of hard wood, and its size and pattern were identical with another one in the Louvre, made of baked clay, which had been used by the ancient Egyptians 1100 or 1000 years B.C.

until some time after the conclusion of the sport; I knew this from some of our people who, finding nothing to light their cigars with, learned through the medium of the Interpreter that it is prohibited on these occasions[1].

A sham assault.

They also have sham fights, as I witnessed one day, when more than two hundred canoes arrived laden with provisions which the *arii* Otù had levied from his own people, because he was aware that there was a scarcity in Vehiatua's district, where he was staying as a guest with all his household and a large number of dependents. After landing the principal portion a remnant of the stuff was left in the canoes in order to lend zest to the contest or martial practice [that was to follow]. This consisted in a foray on the part of Vehiatua's tribesmen executed against the remnant [of provisions] and opposed by those of Otù, in which many blows and hard knocks were dealt on either side. In the result, he who secured the most booty came off the winner.

As a matter of fact this scrimmage, of the motive for which we were at the time ignorant, caused us a good deal of anxiety, especially to myself who had the quartermaster and greater part of my crew on shore engaged in setting up the house for the missionary *Padres*, and other duties; and this prompted me to request the Comandante, Don Domingo Bonechea, to let me go ashore with the rest of my crew armed, but keeping our arms concealed in order not to alarm the natives before acquainting myself with the cause of the row. So soon as I arrived at the beach, however, I met the quartermaster; who explained to me what the squabble in question really meant. Nevertheless I did

[1] *Cf.* The Interpreter's Diary. Andía's description of these archery meetings agrees with Moerenhout's [Bibl. no. 73, vol. II, pp. 148–150]; and also with Ellis's [Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, pp. 299–300] except as to shooting at a mark. It was a test of strength and distance only.

not neglect to forestall a misadventure that might have happened to one of my sailor-men about a woman with whom he had had truck, and who, having given her the consideration promised, now, after obtaining his desire, went back and took it away from her; through which it came about that when her relatives heard of the man's bad faith they sought to kill him. I managed to avert this, however, and appeased their resentment by pointing a gun at the seaman and making him pay over the wages of sin, in fulfilment of his contract.

Warfare.

When they sally forth to do battle the leaders and principal Chiefs of the army wear their distinctive emblems. Of these I saw three kinds: one is a sort of demi-gorget made of little twigs like wicker-work, covered with feathers and very handsomely ornamented with sharks' teeth and mother-of-pearl shell[1]. This is reserved for the leaders. The second is a kind of guy's cap[2] one-and-a-quarter or one-and-a-half *varas* in height[3], with a flap thing that

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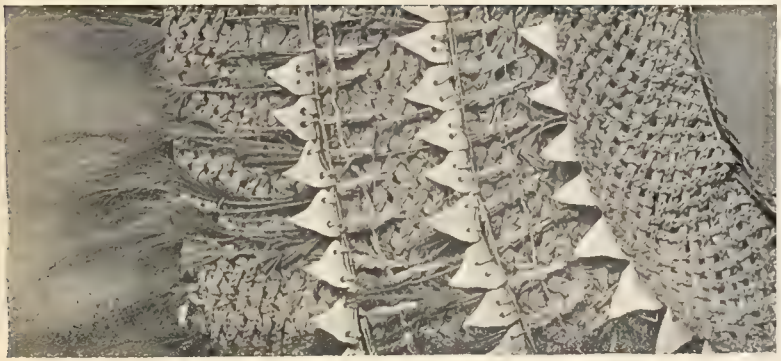
[1] Called in Tahitian, *taumi*. See the illustration opposite, executed specially for this work from a *taumi* in the British Museum.

[2] M. Ternaux's copy, as printed, has here the word *coroza*; and in the next sentence *corona*: both of which are correct by the Madrid MSS. The Arellana Wood copy, as printed by Capt. Vidal Gormaz, has *coraza*—evidently a mistake, for *coroza*—and omits *ó vara y media* found in the others. *Coraza* means a cuirass: a *coroza* was a high peaked kind of fool's cap, made of pasteboard, in form something like a Nazarene's or penitent's, which used to be set on the heads of bawds and witches as a stigma to draw public contempt upon them. The term is also applied to a conical cap of rushes worn by the peasants of Galicia in very rainy or sunny weather as a protective covering.

[3] Banks says "four feet long and eight inches in diameter." G. Forster says "near five feet high." Ellis says it "towered two or three feet above the head." They were called *fau*, and were worn by the *aito*—knights, or champions. Good examples are in the British and Oxford University Museums. An engraving of the *taumi* occurs in Hawkesworth [Bibl. no. 51, vol. II, Pl. 8]: a good proof copy is in the British Museum [Add. MSS. 15508 (6) and (7)]—and of the *fau* [*idem* (18)]. See also Parkinson [Bibl. no. 84, Pl. XI]: and *cf.* G. Forster, vol. II, pp. 63–4, and Ellis, vol. II, pp. 499–500.



DETAIL OF THE GROUND WORK.

A TAUMI
(Plastron or demi-gorget.)

screens the face, decorated in the same fashion as the demi-gorgets; and worn by officers of rank. The third is a sort of crown made of fibres of the coco-nut husk braided and interwoven with much skill and nicety; and I think these belong only to the supreme Chief or whoever represents his person in the fight, for I saw no other but the one possessed by Titorea, the step-father of Vehiatua, who, both for this reason and on account of his valour, and the youthful age of his step-son, may be supposed to become the general officer on such occasions in the absence of his Lord paramount. The principal motives that urge these and other islanders to warfare were, in so far as I was able to learn, either the abduction of women, of whom there seems to be a scarcity in all the islands (as in this one), or the raiding of provisions; for, when one island fails to supply the needs of its inhabitants in this respect they go in quest of them to others, at the risk of their lives.

Island products.

The provisions that can be got at this island are plantains, some of which (as I have had proof) will keep from fifty to sixty days. I have counted up as many as twenty-six varieties[1] of this fruit: some more palatable than others. Among them there is one whose pulp is deep yellow, and very mawkish to the taste, though the natives account its flavour highly agreeable. It possesses the peculiarity of communicating its colour to the urine[2]. There are others comparable

[1] Dr Seemann states that Banks and Solander enumerated twenty-eight Tahitian varieties [Bibl. no. 120]. Cuzent mentions twenty kinds by name [Bibl. no. 34] of which *orea*, *apiri*, *aivao*, *fei*, *papa*, and *ovatavata* correspond with Andía's list. Ellis observes that "nearly thirty" varieties were cultivated by the natives in his time, and "nearly twenty" more grew wild in the mountains; but he mentions only *orea* and *fei* by name [Bibl. no. 36].

[2] This, the *fei*, is the wild mountain plantain of Tahiti, Fiji and New Caledonia, where it grows freely at elevations over 1600 ft.; but it does not thrive below that zone even when cultivated. It bears its large, red-skinned, fruit on a central erect pedicle. The edible pulp

to melons, for size, but are of good flavour. The names by which the natives distinguish them are the following:

Orea, Hei (this is the one that tinges the urine)

Taviriviri	Mapùapùa	Aibao	Eparafatu
Epapa	Etavara	Taipua	Tayoura
Apiri	Piabay	Rerarai	Turita
Ehurau	Piatoto	Pureciva	Piapia
Eynerima	Eahuta	Poitia	Eheay
Eoa	Eaumarey	Otavata	Parua.

One may lay in a stock of hogs which, although of a very small breed, are plump and well flavoured; but it is necessary to kill them on shore, salt them down immediately, and head them up in barrels, because they do not keep alive at sea.

I doubt whether in any part of the world fish are to be met with in such variety as at this island, or of more striking colours or stranger shapes: so much so that were a painter to come and pourtray them he might produce a canvas which, for its singularity, would be worthy of [a place in] the salon of a prince of taste. Of fish known in Europe there are the red mullet, the moray, the eel, the *yanqueti*, the squid—all of good flavour. There are crayfish and crabs in abundance and of immense size, fine large winkles in great plenty and variety; but the most noteworthy that I saw among the shellfish are the mussels, because of their size, for on measuring one of several shells of this mollusc purchased by Don Tomas Gayangos, second Captain of the *Aguila*, I found it to be 17 inches long and between 9 and 10 in width, and a very fine and delicate

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is of a rich yellow colour, and really has the peculiar property here attributed to it by Andía. Though usually quoted as *Musa fei* (after Bertero) it is indistinguishable organically from *M. uranoscopus* (Seem.) and *M. Troglodytarum* (Kurz.). For an instructive account of the Tahitian MUSACEAE and other dye-plants see the work by M. Cuzent [Bibl. no. 34], who was a "Pharmacien de la Marine."

shell at that. There are also both the ordinary and the shell turtle, though not in much plenty: on which account, perhaps, they are honoured by being eaten by the kings, it being forbidden to private persons and even to [mere] relatives of the royal families to eat them. There is likewise plenty of grass, which can be taken on board either dry or green, as well as plantain stems, by way of fodder for any cattle on board.

There are several fruits not known in Europe, nor in America. The principal one among them is the *uru*, borne by the bread-fruit tree, which when roasted is very delicate and toothsome; nevertheless it does not excel a kind of chestnut (that they call *e ihi*[1]), larger than that of Europe and differently shapen, in either of those qualities. There is also a very luscious sort of apple which, while not differing in its exterior or in its taste from some of those of Spain, is distinguished from them by having a single round seed of the bigness of a large filbert, but soft in consistence[2]. Certain small melons abound, too, about as large as a big walnut, which give out a delightful odour and fragrance; but I don't know whether they eat them[3].

Of flowers there is no great variety: only two in fact, in any way choice. One is white, and resembles the musk-rose in form. It has a beautiful scent[4]. The other is red, and pretty to look at, but scentless[5].

[1] This chestnut is the *ihi*, borne by the *mape* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Forst.), and is quite well flavoured when roasted, but disagreeably hard and indigestible. It is the *ivi* of Fiji. See vol. I, p. 327, note 5. The words in parenthesis occur so in all the MSS., but have dropped out of the Paris printed version.

[2] Probably the *'ahi'a* or Malay apple, *Eugenia* (*Jambosa* DC.) *malaccensis*, Linn.

[3] *Cucumis acidus*, Jacq.?

[4] This description points to the justly renowned *tiare*, dear to every Tahitian maiden and swain (*Randia tahitensis*, Nadeaud), often called the native *gardenia* (DC.). Or perhaps Andía was thinking of the *pua* blossom (*Fagraea Berteriana*, A. Gray). *Cf.* p. 55.

[5] Either the *aute* (*Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis*, Linn.) or the *pua rata* (*Metrosideros villosa*, Sm.), probably the former was meant.

There is another one[1] whose sap when mixed with the milky juice exuded by a fruit[2] something like a hazel-nut produces a rich red colouring matter with which they dye their wraps [of native cloth].

There is a quantity of good ginger[3] of the medicinal sort; and also a yellow kind[4] with whose juice they dye their wraps that colour.

The island is everywhere[5] studded with an infinity of very tall coco-nut palms, whose trunks are from thirty to forty *varas* in length, without the crown and foliage; and which bear, according to their variety, distinct kinds of coco-nuts charged with a water which, besides being very grateful and pleasant to the taste, is also deliciously cool and wholesome. As a consequence, the natives do not leave them to ripen. I may truthfully say that our people were greatly refreshed and set up [in health] by this fruit, to which I attribute their not having suffered from any diseases of consequence.

The natives of this island make plantations of sundry root-crops that serve for food, such as the *taro*[6], which is a sort of yam or *achira*[7] of Lima, but very large. When

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[1] *Tou* (*Cordia subcordata*, Lam.).

[2] *Mati* (*Ficus tinctoria*, Forst.).

[3] *Zinziber Zerumbet* (Rosc.), in Tahitian *rea moe ruru.*

[4] Turmeric (*Curcuma longa*, Linn.), in Tahitian *rea.*

[5] Andía can only have had the coastal belt in mind, and probably never went inland at all. He would have found few coco-nuts there.

[6] The well-known *Colocasia antiquorum* (Schott) of many Pacific islands and elsewhere: not a yam, but an arum. See p. 280, note 1.

[7] *Achira* is the edible corm of a *canna*, *C. Achiras* (Gill) or *C. paniculata* (Ruiz y Pavón), I am not sure which, nor whether they differ from each other.

Baio [Bibl. no. 14] describes it as an aquatic plant, that furnishes a violet coloured 'tuber' which when cooked resembles the sweet potato in flavour. Juan de Arona [Bibl. no. 9] says "a sweetish edible root, somewhat resembling the *camote* (sweet potato), with this difference that it is eaten raw. It is to the *camote* what the *guanábana* (custard-apple?) is to the *chirimoya.* It is a pure Quéchua word."

Alcedo [Bibl. no. 2 *bis*] does not include *achira* in his list.

there is a shortage of *uru*, or indeed all the year round, this *taro*, after being roasted, serves them for bread, and is one of the articles of which they make provision for their voyages from one island to another. They grow sweet potatoes, of which there are two or three varieties; and one of them resembles the *zapallo*[1] in flavour, but the others are very good. There is abundance of sugar-cane in a completely wild and uncultivated state; but they are unacquainted with the mode of extracting molasses or sugar from it.

In these plantations, and in others of certain saplings[2] of whose bark they make some of their cloth for wearing purposes, one finds a herb very similar to water-cress, and which is not inferior to the latter in flavour and delicacy as a salad; but the Indians only make use of it for curing themselves of the itch, and swellings, for which they rub themselves with its juice mixed with water and apply the lees that remain over from the herb, in the form of a compress to the part[3].

The land adjoining the sea-shore is rocky and there is not much friable soil, so that the natives find it necessary to pick out the lumps of stone, and with these they bank up plots of loose earth on the surface of the ground, two feet or more in height, where they make their nurseries and seed beds. They dig drains along the borders of these which, besides serving to carry off the surplus rainfall, also do duty as boundaries between the holdings of different persons. All the same, there were not wanting some who penetrated farther up the gully than I did, and I was

[1] *Zapallo* or *zapayo* is a large coarse gourd, a sort of 'squash' (*Cucurbita Pepo*, Linn.) eaten by the common folk in Spanish America.

[2] The paper mulberry, Tah. *aute* (*Broussonetia papyrifera*, Vent.).

[3] Most likely he is alluding to the *patoa*—a sort of "cuckoo flower" or "lady's smock" (*Cardamine sarmentosa*, Forst.). It has a pretty little bluish flower like a forget-me-not, and grows in damp, marshy, patches of ground: in common with other cresses it possesses pungent and antiscorbutic properties. The Fijians also use it as a simple.

assured that they had seen good clean loam of a kind fit for making bricks and roofing-tiles, and that therefore mud-walls and buildings of sun-dried brick could be erected. I made trial of two or three such walls with the earth near the harbour but it was absolutely unsuited for the purpose; there is very good stone, however, for walls and other buildings.

While exploring the gully behind the *Puerto de la Virgen*[1] with my mate Don Domingo Zeleta, a coastal pilot of the Realm of Guatemala, he drew my attention to the abundance there is there of the plant[2] that yields indigo; of whose use and profit the Indians are ignorant.

Although the island is composed of rugged mountain masses, for the most part inaccessible, they are all forest clad; and on this account I doubt there being any minerals[3], for these are usually associated with arid and dry ranges. The lack of any beasts of burden, and the broken nature of the country, prevented me from prospecting as I wished in this direction, and from exploring the interior of the island for what it might reveal.

Family status of high Chiefs.

I could not find out for certain about the succession of the *arii*. What I do affirm, however, is that they cannot be married; because neither of the two who at present possess the island as their appurtenance is so. It is said that Vehiatua before he ascended to this dignity had one Tautiti to wife, but that he put her away before taking over the office and left her free, so that she is now the spouse of another; and all that I was able to gather about

[1] *Taharoa* bay or roadstead, in *Pueu* district.

[2] Probably the *hora* (*Tephrosia purpurea*, Pers.), one of the fish stupefying weeds. A blue dye is obtained from it in some parts of Africa. It is indigenous in nearly all the tropical Pacific islands, and plentiful in such situations as Andía here describes. It belongs to a genus of the same sub-Order as the indigo plant of commerce.

[3] In this surmise Andía was quite right.

it was to the effect that after the demise of an *arii* the sovereignty passes to the eldest nephew[1].

The *arii* have nothing outwardly distinctive about their persons, and are signalised merely by the respectful submission shown by their subjects when these approach them; but in everything else that regards bearing and bodily deportment they are the same [as other people].

Clothing.

The people do not usually wear clothes, even though they possess them. Thus the men go to no farther trouble in this respect than to modestly cover the waist and parts between the thighs with a strip of cloth like a towel which, after looping it two or three times round, they fasten with a half-hitch upon itself. The women wear a loose shawl with which those of the better class and respectability drape themselves from head to foot, and the meaner sort from below the arms to half-way down the calf.

Dwellings.

Their dwellings consist merely of a roof constructed in the form of a trestle or gable, supported at the sides upon upright wooden posts an *estado*[2] in height. The sides are in general not closed in at all, either by solid walls, wattle and daub, or anything else; because, the heat being almost unbearable, they leave them open for the air to circulate through. It is only when a heavy rain squall with much wind happens to incommode them that they rig up a screen of mats, made from palm leaves on the spur of the moment, and these they take down again as soon as the

[1] Andía was astray in his opinions on this difficult subject. Although most of his observations show remarkable caution and great attention to fact and detail, there are not wanting some evidences of his readiness to generalise on too slender premisses, and to set down as a custom doings that he witnessed only in a single instance. *Cf.* Arii Taimai [Bibl. no. 8] and Ellis [Bibl. no. 36, vol. II, pp. 346–7].

[2] See note, p. 262.

weather clears up. One meets now and then with a house walled in with small thin canes[1]; but they are few.

They rear some others in the form of sheds 40 or 50 *varas* in length, whose roofs in all cases are covered in with the leaves of a tree[2], from 3 to 4 feet long and from two to two-and-a-half inches wide, which are tough enough to last many years. They stitch these on to thin canes[1] so as to form a kind of fringe, and, when set in position one above the other, they make a very neat thatch so compact that it does not let the least drop of water pass through.

They cover the ground inside their houses with dry grass[3]; and they are so particular that they even part this grass aside when they want to spit, and cover over the expectoration with it afterwards[4]. They do not allow any one to come in with dirty feet, lest the mats they sit upon, and even the grass itself, be soiled[5]: consequently they make no use of brooms, for with all this nicety they have no need for them.

Furniture.

Their household chattels comprise merely a few baskets and frails of sorts in which they keep their provisions suspended aloft, partly to prevent the rats from getting at them, but also lest any person should handle them; for in such case they would not eat them themselves. They also store

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[1] Reeds: Tah. *aeho* (*Miscanthus sinensis*, Anderss.); see p. 211, note.

[2] The screw-pine, *fara* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*, Linn.), of which there is a spineless variety in Tahiti as well as the commoner one. *Cf.* vol. I, p. 336, note 5.

[3] Sedge really, *mou* being the generic name in Tahitian for the CYPERACEÆ.

[4] This queasy and insanitary trick is but too well known to all of us who have shared the hospitality of Polynesian islanders, even at the present day.

[5] There is a word in Tahitian expressing neglect of this courtesy.

coco-nuts in these baskets, and bottle-gourds[1] in which they carry water, and others that serve them for plates to eat off, so that there may be nothing on the floor except the mats they sit upon and those that they make use of for bedding, or mattress-covers—since the grass does duty for wool. The nattiest pillows about their bed-places are a sort of small bowed wooden stool, of which I saw some extremely neat and slender, and carved with great nicety[2]. These, being of a suitable height, afford, when covered with a roll of native cloth, fair repose for the head. One sees no other pieces of furniture in their houses, beyond now and again a seat[3] made in the same shape and of the same material as the head-rests, but a little higher: these, however, are very rare.

Diet and Cookery.

They are not acquainted with stew-pots or vessels of any sort for cooking victuals in; so that they consume all their food either raw or roasted. The task of cooking for the men is performed by henchmen or boys; and for the women, by their maids or, if they have none, by themselves.

Their kitchens are nothing more than pits dug in the ground outside the house, half a foot or so in depth and a *vara* wide at the top, without any sort of roof over them. They lay some wood in the pit and after this has been set alight they cover it with stones: when these are sufficiently heated they draw them aside, remove the fire, and rake well out the hot floor of the pit. Next, if it be fruit that is to do with, they line the pit with leaves and place it on them: if it be a matter of fish, or the flesh of hogs, they wrap it in layer after layer of broad leaves—it

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[1] The *hue* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*, Ser. in DC.).

[2] See the Plate in vol. I, p. 336.

[3] See the same Plate.

may be of the *uru*, or it may be of the yam[1], after the fashion of a *Tamal*[2]. Then they set this on the cleared floor of the pit and cover it in with the hot stones, and earth on top of them; so that the viands turn out baked rather than roasted[3].

Occasionally they eat their fish raw, in which state they find it more grateful to their palates[4]; and the more tainted it is, the better they like it—not even scorning any of the entrails.

When a meal is to be prepared they spread some plantain leaves on the dried grass with which the ground is covered over; these take the place of table-cloths, and never do duty twice over; the food is served up on more leaves of the same kind, or else in *totumos*[5]. Their sauces are brought forward at the same time, in very thin coco-

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[1] Andía writes *ñame*; but Spaniards often confused the yam with *taro*. It was the leaf of the latter, or of the coarser *ape* (*Alocasia macrorhiza*, Schott), that was commonly used; but sometimes those of the *mape* (chestnut), or dead leaves of the bread-fruit tree.

[2] Tamal—or *pastel de hoja*—is a sort of pasty or toad-in-the-hole made in Spanish America with maize-meal, pieces of pork, young pigeons, chick-peas, chilies, etc., done up in leaves. After being baked in this guise it is put in to stew with the *olla* and forms a standing breakfast dish—at least so said Alcedo in Andía's time [Bibl. no. 2 *bis*].

But "tempora mutantur," for now-a-days *tamales* may be bought in California preserved in 'cans.'

[3] The native oven—*umu* of the Tahitians and Maori, *lovo* or *revo* of the Fijians—is too well known to need further description. Andía's account of it is scarcely so good as that by Amich at pp. 83–4.

Vidal Gormaz, in a foot-note to the Santiago edition [Bibl. no. 94(b)], states that a similar method is followed in Chiloé, where it is termed *curanto*, from an Araucarian word meaning to toss stones: in Peru, where it is known as *pachacac:* and in Venezuela, where the Spanish word *tapado* (covered in) is used for it.

[4] To realize a Tahitian's enjoyment of raw mullet one must see—and hear—him eat it. Not a few Europeans in the islands have tried to emulate this habit (see p. 84, note 6). It is served with *miti*, a kind of sauce or relish prepared from sea-water, grated coco-nut, and other ingredients: or with plain sea-water. A kind of *miti* fermented for keeping has been feelingly described by a French officer as "une sauce nauséabonde." Lemon- or lime-juice is now added to *miti*, but these fruits have been introduced since Andía's day.

[5] A Quéchua term for the half of a calabash, cleaned and dried so as to serve as a bowl or platter. Tah. *ipu*.

nut shells. I have only seen two of these [sauces]: one is composed of sea-water, and people who are close to the sea provide it fresh; but those who are some way off, say a quarter of a mile or so inland, carry it there in stout bamboos; and, although it becomes foul and gives off an intolerable stench, they are content to use it [thus] rather than go to the trouble of fetching fresh, even from so short a distance—such is the indolence of those barbarians.

The second sauce is made of the edible portion of the coco-nut, which they mingle with fresh water, after it has become softened and soured by lapse of time. With these two sauces they give relish to their victuals. Whether they have others I don't know: what I can safely say is that they neither use salt nor are acquainted with it[1].

Their ordinary drink is water; they have, however, a plant called *eaba*[2] (this word comprises several meanings in their language) whose juice, drunk without fermentation or any other treatment or admixture, intoxicates them. It is the high Chiefs who most indulge in this; and it is the only beverage that has become known to them.

The usual times for eating are the morning, and before sunset in the evening. They devote all the rest of the day to lying stretched in the shade like beasts of the field, with the exception of a few who, being obliged by their lords to do so, go out to fish or attend to other jobs.

Fishery.

They follow several different methods of fishing, and use various kinds of gear. Hooks, they make out of mother-of-pearl and other shells by grinding them down on rough stones which make up for the lack of steel files; and for very

[1] The Santiago copy has *comen* for *conocen*: evidently the latter is the correct reading.

[2] *Ava*: see p. 130, note 2.

small fish they use thorns of trees which they search out for the purpose. They net nets of *majagua*[1] fibre, fine or coarse according to the grade of the net and the class of fish they expect to catch in it: the mesh or knot is the same as that of our fishing nets. There are some from thirty to forty fathoms in length. For catching *yanquetis*[2] and other small fry they employ palm leaves interlaced and firmly seized on to a head-rope of *majagua*[1] from eighty to a hundred fathoms long: with this they form a barrier across the mouths of the streams, and then, on hauling it ashore, they secure the fish that are entangled among the leaves, which are very closely plaited.

Canoes and seamanship.

Among the things I admired most were the canoes they use for the fishery and for journeying from island to island, even when long distances apart. It would give the most skilful builder a shock to see craft having no more breadth of beam than three spans carrying a spread of sail so large as to befit one of ours with a beam of eight or ten spans, and which, though without means of lowering or furling the sail, make sport of the winds and the waves during a gale, their safety depending wholly on two light poles a couple of *varas* or so in length, which, being placed athwartships, the one for'ard and the other aft, are fitted to another [spar] of soft wood placed fore-and-aft wise in the manner of an outrigger. This serves two purposes: the one, to prevent the canoe from capsizing when she lists over towards the outrigger, by holding her up by virtue of the resistance offered by this light spar against its own

[1] By *majagua* the West Indian hibiscus or Cuba bast tree (*Mahoe*) is generally meant, in these journals: that is to say, its Polynesian congener the *fau* or *purau* of Tahiti (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*, Linn.).

[2] All efforts to identify *yanqueti* have failed, but it appears to be a term in use among the Andalucian fishermen for a sort of small sprat or anchovy, and here refers probably to the same fish as the *daniva* or 'whitebait' of Fiji. *Cf.* vol. 1, p. 328, note 3.

immersion, and the other, to prevent her from capsizing the other way about by the counterpoise offered by the outrigger, which is the more effective the farther it is placed from the centre of the canoe-body. Yet they do capsize towards that side at times, through unreadiness on the part of the person handling them. The sailing canoes have, in addition to the outrigger, two gang-boards as it were, projecting seawards on either side from the heel of the mast, which allow a man, or when the wind is fresh two men, to pass out on them to windward as far as may be, in order to preserve the [craft's] equilibrium. These canoes are as fine for'ard as the edge of a knife, so that they travel faster than the swiftest of our vessels; and they are marvellous, not only in this respect, but for their smartness in shifting from one tack to the other.

The natives of these islands handle their vessels with great dexterity, and they all apply themselves to it because of the need they have for them for communicating from island to island: so that all the men are sailors, after their particular style of seamanship. It cannot be denied that the KING might derive many good seamen from this place, for besides being brought up to the work they are both very quick and very daring: so much so that when we had a fancy to make them to pass from one mast to the other by swarming along a stay they seemed more like monkeys than rational beings, and of this I had experience even whilst under way[1] in a fresh breeze.

For long voyages they employ two canoes coupled together by means of cross scantlings securely lashed, and leaving space enough between them for the crew of both canoe-bodies to scull in. These canoes have no outrigger,

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[1] The word *navegando* ("whilst under way") is wanting in the Santiago printed copy, and is out of its proper place in the Ternaux one.

because they need none, each hull sustaining the other; and they generally set two sails, one in each canoe-body. I have seen some of these [double canoes] more than twenty *varas* in length, built up of several sections admirably fitted together; for, though they have no tools but those they fashion out of sundry stones, they fit, smoothen, and complete a piece of work, with as workmanlike a finish as the best of our carpenters could turn out. They do not use either nails, treenails, dowels, or ties, for they secure one plank to the next by lacing them edgewise together with plait[1] made of the fibres of the outer husk of the coco-nut. They pass this through holes bored along the margins of each plank, supplemented by some caulking of the same fibre, which they pay outside with a kind of pitch or blackish resin—not very lasting but sufficiently so to prevent water from getting in through the seams. Their canoes have nevertheless to be constantly baled, on account of the water they ship over the side.

Navigation.

There are many sailing-masters among the people, the term for whom is in their language *fatere*[2]. They are competent to make long voyages like that from Otahiti to Oriayatea[3], which counts forty or fifty leagues, and others farther afield. One of them named Puhoro came to Lima on this occasion in the frigate; and from him and others I was able to find out the method by which they navigate on the high seas: which is the following.

They have no mariner's compass, but divide the horizon into sixteen parts, taking for the cardinal points those at which the sun rises and sets. Their names, with

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[1] *i.e.* sennit.

[2] *Faatere*, see p. 240, note 2.

[3] It is curious that in all the copies of Andía's journal that I have seen—but nowhere else—*Ra'iatea* appears as '*Oriayatea*.'

the corresponding ones in our own language, are as follows[1]:

East	E maoae
East-north-east	E apiti
North-east	E tauguarù
Nor'-north-east	E faarua
North	Paofaeti
Nor'-nor'-west	Moehio
Nor'-west	Arueroa
West-nor'-west	Etaparay
West	E toeraù
West-sou'-west	E rapatia
Sou'-west	E rayu
Sou'-sou'-west	E tuituipapa
South	Tuamuri
Sou'-south-east	Erahenua
South-east	maray
East-south-east	Tuauru.

When setting out from port the helmsman reckons with the horizon thus partitioned counting from E, or the point where the sun rises; he knows the direction in which his destination bears: he sees, also, whether he has the wind aft, or on one or other beam, or on the quarter, or is close-hauled: he knows, further, whether there is a following sea, a head sea, a beam sea, or if it is on the bow or the quarter. He proceeds out of port with a knowledge of these [conditions], heads his vessel according to his calculation, and aided by the signs the sea and wind

[1] About half the terms here quoted are recognisable, allowing for differences in the spelling of some. *Maoae*, *faarua*, *arueroa*, *toerau*, are correct; *apiti* is *haapiti*, *maray* is *maraai*, *erahenua* is *arafenua*, and *tuauru* may be *uru*. They are the names of winds, according to the direction they blow from, and their force. But the directions given in this list do not all quite accord with the names. There are slight variants in the different MSS., but none of moment.

afford him, does his best to keep steadily on his course. This task becomes more difficult if the day be cloudy, because of having no mark to count from for dividing out the horizon. Should the night be cloudy as well, they regulate their course by the same signs; and, since the wind is apt to vary in direction more than the swell does, they have their pennants, [made] of feathers and palmetto bark, to watch its changes by and trim sail, always taking their cue for a knowledge of the course from the indication the sea affords them. When the night is a clear one they steer by the stars; and this is the easiest navigation for them because, these being many [in number], not only do they note by them the bearings on which the several islands with which they are in touch lie, but also the harbours in them, so that they make straight for the entrance by following the rhumb of the particular star that rises or sets over it; and they hit it off with as much precision as the most expert navigator of civilised nations could achieve[1].

They distinguish the planets from the fixed stars, by their movements; and give them separate names. To the stars they make use of in going from one island to another they attach the name of the island, so that the one which serves for sailing from Otahiti to *Oriayatea*[2] has those same names, and the same occurs with those that serve them for making the harbours in those islands.

What took me most in two Indians whom I carried from Otahiti to *Oriayatea*[2] was that every evening or night they told me, or prognosticated, the weather we should experience on the following day, as to wind, calms, rainfall, sunshine, sea, and other points, about which they never

[1] All their guides, except the fixed stars, being inconstant, the fact that long and unbroken voyages were ever successfully accomplished by the Tahitians is very remarkable.

[2] *Ra'iatea.*

turned out to be wrong: a foreknowledge worthy to be envied, for, in spite of all that our navigators and cosmographers have observed and written anent the subject, they have not mastered this accomplishment.

Division of Time.

Although they are cognisant of the annual movement of the sun from one tropic to the other, I was not able to find out whether they turn this to account as a measure of yearly time, nor yet of that which the sun occupies in passing beyond its zenith, when travelling northwards or southwards[1]. But they do make use of the phases of the moon for defining time by lunar periods; though, nevertheless, after thirty or forty have been exceeded they no longer keep count, so that I was never able to ascertain any precise date.

They regard the day merely as an arbitrary division of time from sunrise to sunset, which they term a *mahana*: the night, which they call *e pò*, they reckon from when the sun sets until it rises; so that, for noting the time they occupy in sailing from one island to another, or in other cases that do not extend to a full lunar period, they count so many days as[2] so many nights.

Fauna.

We did not see any wild quadrupeds in the island of Otahiti; nor any domestic ones excepting swine, of which mention has been made above, and some particularly funny dogs, for they absolutely do not bark—at any rate nobody heard them bark—but serve the Indians as a dainty article of

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[1] In Fiji the natives are well aware of the continual change that takes place in the sun's amplitude; and in the island of Kadavu they watch its southerly extension during the last quarter of the (calendar) year as an indication of the date when the *balolo*—that curious edible marine annelid [*Eunice palolo*] which swarms during only two tides in the year—may be expected to rise.

[2] The Santiago copy here reads *como*, for *con* as printed from M. Ternaux's MS. As the general custom among South Sea islanders is to count by nights (and moons) the Santiago reading is here adopted as the correct and more grammatical text.

food. They have hens, though few in number, and of a small breed ; but the cocks are like[1] English ones in size and mettle. There are some collared wood-pigeons[2] which, though resembling those of these countries in size and colour, differ from them in the beak, and in the male birds having the neck plumage white, while the females have it ashen grey. There are green doves with white necks[3], and others entirely black, parrots of a green colour, blue paroquets[4], wild duck[5], widgeon, whimbrel[6], thrushes and other birds of the chase.

Of vermin, there were seen only the rats that I spoke of before, and which they call *yore*[7], lizards, and centipedes called by them *oeveri*[8]: these last are extremely venomous, on which account the mere sight of them throws the Indians into a panic of fright.

Ailments.

The climate is hot, and in a high degree humid, from which it comes about that there is much syphilis[9], and colds are common; for when they are stifling with heat, these natives plunge into the water all in a sweat, whence such [ailments] result to them. There is a great deal of itch, but they have no

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[1] The Santiago copy here reads *se parecen*, for *son semejantes* in M. Ternaux's. Their meanings are almost identical.

[2] *Globicera Wilkesi*—nomen vernac. *Rupe*: now becoming rare ; and *G. pacifica.*

[3] *Ptilopus purpuratus*—a fruit pigeon ; nomen vernac. *Uupa.*

[4] The *vini*, a beautiful deep sapphire blue white-throated lory of the Society Islands (*Coriphilus taitianus* and *C. cyaneus*) is now almost extinct ; but specimens were obtained in 1904 by Mr Scott Wilson at *Porapora.* [Bibl. no. 97.] There is one in the B.M.N.H., no. 1104.

[5] *Anas superciliosa* : of wide distribution in the Pacific Islands, East Indies, and Australia. B.M.N.H. no. 733.

[6] *Totanus incanus* (sandpiper), and *Numenius tahitensis* (a curlew).

[7] *Iore* (*Mus exulans*, Peale).

[8] *Veri* (*scolopendra*).

[9] *Gálico*, which means syphilis. Andía's view that it results from heat and humidity of the climate is difficult of comprehension. What he took for syphilitic eruptions were probably the granulomata of yaws.

knowledge of smallpox or other diseases: yet they are not long-lived, for we saw very few old people.

Dances.

In their amusements, which they term *heiva*, they are wont to indulge in various dances of a highly immodest character: these take place out of doors and are attended by the whole populace, including, when given in his honour, the King and his family. The dancers are two boys dressed up as women, with wings sticking out from their waists fashioned of the cloth they make from the bark of trees, white, yellow, and russet. In their hands they carry a small wand ornamented with feathers, with which, and with their bodies, they follow [the lead of] a dancing master who gives them their cue.

The Kings and great personages each keep one of these dancing masters to teach their families, just as they keep an *e pure* or master versed in law for their instruction in that.

Apart from the immodesty of the figure, they screw their mouths awry in so hideous and absurd a fashion that they may well seem inspired by the devil[1]. I saw only one decent dance, made up of several young girls who together repeated the refrain "*tei pere hué*" to what one of their number was singing[2].

The musical instruments they make use of are a fife with three holes, on which they wind a very plaintive air with their nostrils, large and small drums that they tap with the hand, and two chunks of a sonorous wood, one thicker than the other and of unequal length, which on being struck with two small truncheons, give out a sound with some show of harmony about it.

[1] *Cf.* p. 80, note 3; and Parkinson, pp. 24–5, who gives a drawing of this in his Journal [Bibl. no. 84, Pl. VII] and two of the Tahitian fife [Pl. IX and XIII]. Specimens of fifes and also drums are preserved in several public museums and some private collections.

[2] Perhaps *te i perehu, e—e—e*!

A Quarrel.

The consideration and forbearance with which we treated these people, as against the stern and wanton behaviour shown them by the English who were there the year before our arrival, gave them cause to think that the latter are more daring than the Spaniards ; and for this reason, as well as because they were more liberal-handed towards them, in spite of being intolerant, they hold the English in higher respect. In proof of what I say, I will relate the following incident. One of my sailormen, named Josef Navarro, was ashore washing some of the officers' linen, when a number of Indians came round him on pretence of watching how he did his laundering. They stole some shirts from him : whereupon he made the rest of the linen secure and followed the Indian whom he thought to be the thief. This one set off to run, as did Navarro after him ; and the Indian, while in full chase, picked up a stone with incredible alacrity and, facing round towards Navarro, hurled it with such force and precision that his skull was fractured, from which he would infallibly have died had not the excellent surgeon who was attached to the frigate, in the quality of senior, performed the operation suited to the case. In the end I succeeded in seeing him sound and well again, although I was deprived of the man's services during the remainder of the voyage, as it was necessary for his better care that he should be tended in the frigate.

The Indians, being afraid that we would kill them on account of this act—for the English killed many of them from less weighty motives[1], and left others badly wounded

[1] Numerically, this is an exaggeration, but some natives *were* wantonly fired upon, with fatal results, by the *Resolution's* men ; and one was killed by the *Endeavour's*. In 1767 the *Dolphin's* guns opened fire in self-defence against a concerted but unprovoked attack. Bougainville's people killed four of the natives. The fact remains that the humane attitude and conduct of the Spanish officers towards the Tahitians were worthy of all praise, and were greatly appreciated by the Chiefs and people.

(of which I saw the scars in one who was lucky enough to escape with his life)—the two *arii* took to flight, and all their subjects followed their example, carrying with them whatever they possessed. The Comandante immediately sent word to the Interpreter to make their minds easy and assure them, in his name, that no harm should be done to them; and, on this, they set about returning to their dwellings. From this action they concluded that the English are more prone to anger and revenge than are the Spaniards, and they hinted to our people that if a ship of that nation should come that way she would make an end of all of *us*.

Traces of Capt. Cook.

Of two Indians I conveyed from Otahiti to the island of *Oriayatea* one named Orometua informed me that, since my Comandante was at Otahiti during his previous voyage, a large ship had arrived there, which by the indications must have been a ship of the line, with a frigate[1] somewhat larger than the *Aguila*; he said that their Comandante was named "Otute," of the British nation[2]. But as these Indians cannot pronounce words of European languages with clearness, I could not satisfy myself about the name of the Comandante, although I did so as to his being British, both from the name *bretane* that he gave for his nationality, and also because my informant imitated with great perfection a tune or jig that Englishmen sing: and not the air, tone and measure merely, but their fashion of trilling it out with the teeth clenched: after which no doubt remained in my mind that they were English. We saw, in addition, several things that they had given them,

[1] H.M.S. *Resolution* and *Adventure*. Both vessels were Whitby-built 'cats' intended for the coal trade: the former measured 462 tons and the latter 336 tons.

[2] "Otute" should be written *o Tute*, meaning Cook. There is no hard c or k sound in Tahitian and its permutation is to *t*, when sounded at all; but it is more often dropped altogether.

such as a silver-hilted hanger, a round grind-stone mounted in its trough, several axes, and some fine shirts[1]; and they even stated to me that the King Otù had a pendant and two English ensigns, all given by the Comandante and officers of those two vessels[2].

Orometua told me that they had lain at anchor two months, or moons, in the harbour of *Fatutira*[3], and that the frigate put to sea some days before the ship[4], and that the latter after proceeding to sea went to *Oriayatca* by herself, where after having reconnoitred the island she anchored in one of its harbours : that she subsequently sailed, carrying three Indians[5] of that island with her, and after a being

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[1] Capt. Cook gave a broadsword to Tu on the 29th of August, 1773. He also relates that on his arrival at *Oaiti-piha* (as he spells it) "To several who called themselves chiefs, I made presents of shirts, axes, and several other articles." [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, p. 146.] That was on the 17th of August in the same year. To Vehiatua he gave "a shirt, a sheet, a broad ax, spike nails, knives, looking-glasses, medals, beads, etc." [*Op. cit.* p. 151.] Among the goods supplied to Cook's ships for traffic, and gifts, were axes, grind-stones, and shirts.

[2] On the 14th of May, 1774, Capt. Cook witnessed a naval review before the Chiefs, in which forty war canoes participated off Opáree [Pare], and "amongst the various articles which I gave this Chief [Towha, *i.e.* Tahua, whom he terms 'the admiral'] was an English pendant, which pleased him more than all the rest, especially after he had been instructed in the use of it." [*Op. cit.* p. 340.] On the same afternoon Capt. Cook "went with Otoo to one of his dock-yards, where the two large *pahies* or canoes were building, each of which was an hundred and eight feet long. They were almost ready to launch, and were intended to make one joint double *pahie* or canoe. The King begged of me a grappling and rope, to which I added an English jack and pendant (with the use of which he was well acquainted)." [*Op. cit.* pp. 343—4.]

[3] In reality only one week, and another at *Matavai*, on that occasion. See also p. 294, note 3.

[4] The ships sailed together for *Matavai*, but the *Resolution's* cutter remained at *Vaitepiha* Bay a day after they left, to collect hogs.

[5] One was Poreo (Poreho) a Tahitian youth who shipped on board the *Resolution* at *Matavai* on 1. 9. 73, but he deserted at *Ra'iatea* a fortnight later; another was Oedidee (o Hitihiti) otherwise called Mahine, a native of *Porapora* who embarked at *Ra'iatea* on 17. 9. 73, and went in the ship to New Zealand and back. The third was Omai (o Mai) a native of *Ra'iatea* of inferior social degree whom Capt. Furneaux received on board the *Adventure* at *Huahine* on Sept. 9th, 1773, and who went to England in that ship after she parted company from the Commodore in a gale of wind off Cook's Straits, N.Z.

one moon at sea came to a large country where it was very cold, and that after coasting along it for another month they could not discover the end of it[1]: that its inhabitants were tractable and frank, that they possess better clothing and other things than the Tahitians or natives of *Oriayatea*, and that at last the ship returned to leave in their own country two of the three Indians, whom they had taken from it, but that the third one continued on board[2]. There is a want of agreement about the name of the country in question, for some of them call it *Guaytajo*[3], while the Indian Orometua and others say *Tonetapu*[4].

Among several things those two Indians brought back to *Oriayatea*, and which later on found their way to Otahiti by means of the intercourse carried on between them, I happened accidentally to see a kind of club having two edges dentated like a saw, made of a black, heavy, fine-grained wood, and ornamented with a delicate sort of carving executed with some skill[5]: a weapon they do not employ in any of the islands we saw in our voyage: which lends credence to the story they related about this discovery made by the English.

For my part I am inclined to think that the land in question may be a part of New Zealand, both because they say it was cold there—for the most northerly part of it lies in 34° and some minutes, in this southern hemisphere—and because, according to what I saw in the journals of the officers of the French ship called the *San Juan-Baptista* which came from the East Indies under charge of monsieur

[1] This points to New Zealand, though both ships called first at *Tongatabu* on the way. The two places were evidently confused in the natives' minds, as stated in the next sentence, but it must be remembered that Orometua had the story at second or third hand.

[2] This was Mai, in the *Adventure*.

[3] Another Spanish spelling of *Vaitahu*. See the second paragraph of the foot-note on p. 191.

[4] *Tongatabu*: see note 1 above.

[5] Probably it was a Tongan club.

de Sourbil[1] and crossed the South Sea to the port of El Callao, it is clear that, from its northern extreme, they discovered a great portion of its coastline; which trends towards the E.S.E. and S.E., a little more or less, and had not up to that time been explored. So that I make no doubt but the distance from *Oriayatea* to New Zealand may be just what the English ship could have covered in a month, and that it is a continent which, extending somewhat to the eastward, afterwards stretches away towards the South Pole and forms a strait between it and Cape Horn[2]. But I will deal with this when I speak of the indications of land that we saw during our return from Otahiti to El Callao.

Reverting to the frigate, I would now ask the reader, whither did she proceed by herself, before the Commodore quitted Otahiti for *Oriayatea* and went on from hence to the investigation of this last land? And what considerations forced him to this separation?[3] This much is sure, that if it was to return to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the Horn, he would not have allowed her to part

[1] A general account of the visit of de Surville's ship to El Callao occurs in the Viceroy's "Recital of the events of his Administration," *capitulo* IX : *Arribo de un Navio Frances nombrado Sn Juan Baptista à este Puerto del Callao.* Also in his despatches of 1770–71 in the *Archivo de Indias.* It was during this vessel's detention at El Callao, which extended over nearly three years, that Andía must have seen the journals he mentions. See also vol. XIII of the Second Series (Hakluyt Soc.), pp. lii–lxii : and Laborde [Bibl. no. 59].

[2] A shrewd conjecture on Andía's part. Capt. Cook was the first to dispel the popular impression that New Zealand and the Antarctic continent were continuous. See Andía's further remark on this subject at p. 314.

[3] Andía's speculations on this point were vain, for he relied too confidently on the particulars of Orometua's story, which was in fact a much garbled one. We know from Cook's own narrative [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I], from that of Forster [Bibl. no. 40, vol. I], and from the *Adventure's* logs, that the two vessels left the bay of *Vaitepiha* on the same day, called together at *Matavai*, and were continuously in company until accidentally separated during storms and thick weather on the New Zealand coast about two months afterwards. From that point the *Adventure* made her way back to England, having missed the *Resolution* at their appointed rendez-vous in Queen Charlotte's

company without incurring discredit for bad management. How did he lay in such a stock of provisions, and of such good quality as not to be at the risk of decay in so prolonged a voyage as that from England to Otahiti, in the stay of two months that he made at this island, in the time he spent in going to and exploring *Oriayatea*, and in that occupied in going beyond that island and in returning to it after the exploration of the mainland he discovered? If he despatched the frigate to England in consequence of her being short of supplies for the maintenance of her crew, why did he not abandon the making of discoveries and supply her with sea-stock out of that which in fact he consumed during the time he did devote to them? How did he manage to sail so leisurely across the South Sea without giving heed to the chance of running short of provisions, whether by their spoiling or by a shortage in quantity? Where was he going to replenish them? I may be told at Brazil, or at the *Maluin* Islands, but that would not condone the bad management, because he had no business to part from the frigate when he was intent on making all those discoveries in the South Sea at the hazard of losing his ship on some unknown reef, without having another vessel for the unfortunate castaways to find refuge in. I can not believe that there was any lack of discretion on the part of the Commodore, because we know that the English and other civilised nations send very capable men on expeditions of this kind. What urged the English to send two vessels, named the *Dolphin*, ship of the line, and the *Tamer* frigate, under the orders of Commodore Wiron[1] to make investigations

Sound by one week; and the latter ship returned alone to *Ra'iatea* and Tahiti. Hence, probably, the statement that the "frigate" (meaning the *Adventure*) departed in advance of the larger ship.

[1] In M. Ternaux's version *Tamer* has been misprinted *James*. *Tamer* was the usual but not invariable spelling for *Tamar* at that time. "Wiron" is of course Byron.

in this South Sea, on which expedition they sailed from the port of Plimouth, in the year 1764? There is no doubt that he was at Otahiti, for the Indian Orometua, whom I have quoted above, hearing me mention Wiron's name, said that he knew him and that he had been at Otahiti a long time ago: and on my asking him for some evidence in order to put his veracity to the test, he replied that there were a large ship and a frigate whose captain was named "Movat"; and on this I felt no further doubt, since the same thing is recorded in the [published] narrative of that voyage[1].

What reasons had Wiron for concealing the latitudes and longitudes of the islands he discovered? Time will tell; the facts will proclaim themselves[2].

Occupations while in Port.

From the 27th of November, on which [day] we brought up in the harbour of *La Santissima Cruz*, alias *Fatutira*, in the island of AMAT or Otahiti, until the 7th of January in the succeeding year when we set sail for the discovery of *Oriayatea*, the time was employed in felling and transporting the timber necessary for fencing in a garden and for a big and high shed, constructed [on upright posts[3]] with a gable roof, and thatched after the manner of the Indians'

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[1] Andía's remark shows how easily one may be misled by natives' reports. Neither Commodore Byron nor Capt. Mouat was ever at Tahiti, although H.M.S. *Dolphin* in which Wallis discovered Tahiti was the same ship Byron and Mouat had visited the northernmost atolls of the Tuamotu Archipelago in together, two years previously. Mouat sailed from England in command of the *Tamar*; but was handed a captain's commission and promoted to the *Dolphin* when they left Mas á fuera. Orometua's knowledge of their names must have been derived from officers of one of Cook's vessels, or possibly from natives of *Fakarava* or *Ra'iroa*, where he may have been himself.

[2] The reason why the positions were suppressed is explicitly stated in a foot-note [Bibl. no. 22, p. 123], which is duly translated in the Spanish edition [Bibl. no. 81, p. 114]. It is reprinted in vol. I of the present work, at p. 220, note 2.

Andía here uses a common Spanish saying—*lo que fuere sonará*.

[3] These three words occur in the Santiago printed version.

houses. They executed this work themselves, and the wooden house that I brought in my storeship on His Majesty's account was fitted together inside this shed to be a dwelling-house for the two missionary *Padres*, where a store-room or depository for their stock of provisions was also made for them, and a kitchen.

While cutting down a coco-nut palm for this purpose on the 6th of December all the bystanders were cautioned to keep away clear of danger when it should fall. A seaman belonging to the Frigate, a Galician by birth named Manuel Vasquez, in his anxiety to obtain the sprout, which affords delicious eating, did not draw back like the rest but was content to place himself behind another palm close to the one that was being felled, and which leaned somewhat towards the ground. Unfortunately for him it happened that the palm that was cut fell foul of the one he had chosen for his protection, and sliding down the sloping stem of the latter, descended with such speed that, without leaving him a chance to get away, the very sprout he was hoping to eat struck him such a violent blow on the head that he expired that same instant, without perceiving his own death. He was given sepulture the next day in the burial-ground the missionary *Padres* had set apart and consecrated for the purpose; and the Indians attended the interment with wonder and signs of veneration for the ceremonies of our holy mother Church.

Erection of a Cross at *Tautira*.

On the 1st day of January, 1775, the most Holy Cross, which had been conveyed from Lima for the purpose of being erected in the island, was disembarked. As soon as it was brought on shore the marines and a party of seamen fired a volley of musketry, and a procession being formed of four priests, all the combatant officers and warrant officers of the Frigate, and all those of the storeship, we moved forward,

chanting litanies the while, to the house of the missionary *Padres*, in the foreground and cemetery of which the cross was set up: a second volley being fired off at this time. Mass then immediately began, being said by the *Padre* Fr. Geronimo Clota, and at its conclusion the third volley of musketry was discharged; to which the Frigate responded with 25 guns. All this was in token of possession taken of the island that day in the name of our sovereign DON CARLOS III (whom God preserve), and his portrait was afterwards placed above the doorway of the inner house with the same intent.

The Convention.

Then there followed a sort of treaty of alliance or friendship executed by Don Thomas Gayangos in the name of the KING and of the Comandante with the two *arii*, in the presence of all the combatant officers and the Paymaster, charging them with the care and good treatment they should bestow on the *Padres*. I was not present at this compact; but they told me that such was the purport to which it was directed[1].

Stock landed.

The animals that arrived alive, and which I put ashore by the Comandante's order on the 12th of December, 1774, were two bulls, an ass and a she-ass, five head of swine what with males and females, two rams and a ewe, and two goats besides. Don Tomas Gayangos exchanged a cow that he had aboard the Frigate for one of the bulls, in the hope they might breed. On the former voyage of the Frigate they left some goats, of which we found one male and one female at the harbour of *Fatutira*; and from these, with the couple that remained for the *Padres*, we

[1] *Cf.* Gayangos' Journal, pp. 155–6; the form of the Convention, pp. 157–8; and the Spanish text in Supplementary Papers.

should expect a large increase. Not so with the asses however, nor the sheep, for the jack and the ewe died on shore.

Conduct of Pautù.

I must not omit to mention the ingratitude of the Indian baptized in the name of Tomas, and known in his own country as Pautù. On the day when the Indians decamped in consequence of one of them having struck Josef Navarro with a stone, as has been said above, the two missionary *Padres* took fright and became fearful of remaining in the island at the peril of their lives, because there was no guard to be left with them for their protection. Doubts as to their staying there became general, and most of us believed they would go back to Lima; and so did Tomas and the other Indian youngster Manuel, who, now Christians, had returned from that city to their fatherland. When Tomas surmised this, forgetting the great benefits he had received from the Spaniards, and chiefly from God who wished him to be a Christian, he fled after the *arii* and other Indians and warned them not to trust us, because all the endearments we were showing them, the presents and gifts we were making them, the *Padres* who were going to remain in their midst as a mark of friendly confidence, and the cattle that had been brought with the same object,—all these things were for the purpose of deceiving them and making ourselves masters of the island and reducing them to slavery. And to emphasize these taunts he there and then stripped himself of the clothing he wore, with an air of utter contempt, and returned to his former garb. The Indians were not a little astonished at this declaration; but, after the Interpreter had addressed them, the *arii*, struck with the kindly attitude of the Comandante and the little heed that was paid to Tomas' impostures, which failed to

stand in the way of the *Padres* remaining there, came to the conclusion that our friendship was sincere; and that Tomas was no more than the humbug whom, as such and also as a thief, they had held in poor esteem even before he went to Lima.

Pearls.

In the matter of pearls, which they say are plentiful in these islands, what I can state is that they are not found in Otahiti, but I saw there some of very good size brought from another island, although mostly of poor lustre owing to their practice of applying fire to the oysters in order to get them out. The natives are not unaware that pearls are reckoned precious: indeed, for a pair of ear-pendants, or for six or eight pearls strung on two threads that King Vehiatua's mother, named Upò[1], wore suspended from her ears, she asked what no person in either of the ships could give her—for we did not carry a plentiful supply of the articles they value most.

Wishing to know the islands where pearls do occur, I succeeded in learning that they are 19 in number, whose names are as follows:—Mapiha, Eahuahu, Limatara, Oaorio, Rarotea, Manua, Oatiù, Matea, Tupay, Otahà, Porapora, Maurua, Ponamu, Uritete, Teonotapuo, Guaytaho, Iaotea, Fenuaura, Oahuahi[2]. Nevertheless I do not vouch for

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[1] O Pu, short for Purahi, the familiar name of Te Vahine Moeatua.

[2] Many of these names are easily identified, viz.:—*Mopihaa*, *Rimatara*, *Rarotonga*, *Atiu*, *Ma'atea*, *Tubae* (=*Motu iti*), *Tahaa*, *Porapora*, *Maurua* (*Maupiti*), *Ponamu* (New Zealand, South), *Tongatabu*, *Aotea* (New Zealand, North), *Vaitahu*, *Henua ura* and perhaps *O Hawaii*. *Uritete* is stated to be the Hervey Group. Two MSS. have *Uriteu*. *Manua* turns out to be identical with *Tubuai*. *Oaorio* is doubtless the *Woreèo* as spelt by G. Forster. But where is it? This is, however, merely a list of islands—not of pearling islands. The Tahitians of old derived most of their pearls from *Ma'atea*, whither they were brought from *Ra'iroa* and *Fakarava*; with some from *Anaa* and other atolls of the Tuamotu cluster. Compare the list given by Gayangos, pp. 187–194.

[the accuracy of] this piece of information, nor for various others that I have given: in spite of having brought with me a son of mine named Josef Gregorio, a lad of seventeen years, who made himself fairly proficient in the language of the Indians during the voyage, under whose tutelage and that of the Interpreter who stayed on in the island, together with what I myself learned of the language as well, and the help of signs and drawings, I managed to acquire them. [I say this] because the Indians are very apt to impose on one: but there will not be much at fault.

IV.

[*The voyage from Tahiti to Ra'iatea, and back to Tahiti.*]

Departure for *Ra'iatea.*

AT LAST, after having laïd in a stock of wood, water, ballast, and other things, we set sail on the 7th of January 1775, at half-past ten in the forenoon, with a breeze from S.E. by E, to go and look for the island of *Oriayatea*; and headed N.N.W. until we passed outside the reefs. After that we sailed on all the rest of the day until one o'clock in the morning of the 8th, when we hove to with her head to the N.W. and W.N.W until five o'clock, intending to pass to the nor'ard of the island and of that of *Morea* or *Santo Domingo*: and, in point of fact, by twelve o'clock noon we were to the North of it.

Mo'orea.

This latter island, which lies some two or three leagues distant from that of AMAT or Otahiti off its north-western side, and forms a channel through which I doubt whether a

large vessel can pass[1], is high though of small extent; but inhabited, and subject to King Otù. Its people are so intrepid and courageous in battle that whenever they have been at war with those of Otahiti they have borne themselves in a manner to secure great deference and respect, for that in spite of their being so few in number this does not restrain them from slashing at those of Otahiti, even when hacked into mincemeat themselves.

Huahine.

From the time when we were clear of this island we steered W. 5° N. by compass, and having lain to through the night we sighted the island called *Hermosa*, or, according to the Indians, 'Oahine,' at seven o'clock in the morning of the 9th. Its most elevated hill-top lay W. 30° N. from us, and at noon the eastern extreme of the island bore N.N.W. by compass, distant about six leagues. There is another island close to it that the Indians call 'Oahine-iti,' which means to say Little *Oahine*. The large one consists of high land and appears to have good harbours. It is situated, according to my reckoning, in lat. 16° 45′ and long. 226° 59′: it is thickly peopled and so well wooded that it is evidently a fertile and comely land, although not very large[2].

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[1] Although this strait is very deep, quite free from obstructions, nowhere less than seven miles in width from reef to reef, and only about the same in length, the Admiralty Sailing Directions warn navigators that it "should never be used by sailing-ships except with steady winds from N.E. or S.W." [Bibl. no. 1 *bis*, p. 90]. This is owing to the strong and variable currents and uncertain eddies that affect it, coupled with the frequency of calms and sudden changes of wind caused by the proximity of the very high lands of Tahiti and *Mo'orea*. Andía, observant and discreet navigator that he was, appears to have taken due note of these dangers.

[2] The latitude here given is correct: the error in longitude is 1° 20′ too easterly. *Huahine*, with its stilly lake or miniature inland sea where some of the rigidly sacred rites of the ancient Polynesian cult used to be conducted, is indeed one of the most beautiful and seductive of the South Sea islands; and it merited the name of *La Hermosa*, bestowed upon it by the Spaniards, more than they knew. Capt.

In the evening of the same day, the 9th, I received an order to maintain my position where I was, by making short boards, which I did: experiencing many squalls with lots of rain and a fresh breeze, until ten in the morning of the 10th, when, with the wind at N.E. we steered W.S.W. 5° S. by compass in order to come up with the island of *Oriayatea*, otherwise named *La Princesa*, which lay in sight.

Ra'iatea.

This island is divided into two portions, connected by a reef about half a league [in extent] which the tide covers. The Indians call the southern portion *Oriayatea*, and the northern one *Otahá*[1]. Both these consist of high land with fine slopes well suited, by the fertility they display, for breeding cattle. The southern part of the island lies, by an accurate observation I got when [my vessel was] due West from it, in lat. 16° 59′ and long. 226° 40′; but I reckon its middle part to be in lat. 16° 40′ and long. 226° 36′, forty-five leagues from the harbour of *Fatutira* in the direction N. 74° 30′ W., corrected bearing, the variation of the needle being 6° 37′ at Otahiti and 7° 15′ at *Oriayatea*[2].

At nine in the morning on the 11th the Comandante sent his boat ashore to look for the harbours where the

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Cook took the *Resolution* and *Adventure* into the *Fare* lagoon there, under canvas. Both *Huahine nui* and *Huahine iti* are contained within the one reef, and are all but united to each other by dry land.

[1] *o Ra'iatea* and *o Tahaa*, properly. The lagoon between them is two and a half miles across with a greatest depth of 25 fathoms; and in parts the reefs are awash.

[2] The actual position of the southernmost point of *Ra'iatea* is in lat. 16° 55′, and of its north end 16° 43′ 20″. The mean longitude of the ridge which forms its backbone, stretching N. and S., is 151° 26′ West of Greenwich (corresponding to 225° 13′ from Tenerife).

The centre of *Tahaa* lies in lat. 16° 38′, long. 151° 28′ 30″. It should be remembered that Andía was navigating uncharted seas, and had to note the variation by his own observations. In 1900 the magnetic deviation at *Ra'iatea* was 8° 35′ E^{ly}.

Englishman had anchored at this island; taking two Indians in her, the one a native and Chief of *Oriayatea* named Mabarua, and the other a native of the isle of *Matea* or *San Diego*[1], named Puhoro, who was a sailing-master by profession and an excellent pilot among these islands. These men had been brought from Otahiti with us as guides. And when she returned at half-past three, the Comandante hailed me to come on board of him, where he enquired of me how I was off for provisions. I replied that I had taken stock of my provisions before quitting Otahiti, and had enough to last six months, inasmuch as, reflecting that expeditions are often lost or fail in their objects through lack of provisions, I had shipped sufficient for three months over and above the six months for which I was instructed to provide, at El Callao: in addition to which there were those that had come back on my hands since the 26th of September, 1774, when he gave me the order to reduce the ration so as to make the stock last out an extra month and a half, in consequence of which I had cut it by one fourth, and that therefore he need have no anxiety on this head as regarded the store-ship's people. He then told me that having examined, by means of the boat, the only two harbours the island of *Oriayatea* possesses it was found that in one of them the bottom was of bad quality, being of sand and rock; and although the other one afforded good holding ground yet the passage into it was very narrow (for it was only one and a half cables in width) and the current ran there so strongly, that it could only be entered without danger when there is a fresh breeze blowing from the N.W. or W., since, there being no room in the passage to tack, it is not possible to pass in with any other wind between the reefs,

[1] *i.e. Ma'atea*, locally called *Makatea*, 120 miles N.N.E. of Tahiti. This seems to be the only mention of it by the name of *San Diego*.

which menace you with shipwreck, on either hand[1]. [He added] that, according to the report of two Indians he had on board, neither N.W. nor W. winds prevailed at that season, and we should have to wait some months to make sure of them; and although it was commonly the case that some such wind sets in near about the time of full moon, by which one might enter, there was the drawback that after lasting a few days it would chop round to the E. again and settle in that quarter as was usual at the time of year[2], and so make the return to Otahiti difficult. For we had of necessity to return there, in order to learn whether the missionary *Padres* whom we left there had experienced any misadventure during our absence; and a good deal of time must needs be spent in this, besides afterwards, in all the exigencies of the return voyage to El Callao, which was expected to occupy three months from the time of leaving Otahiti. And as he found he had no more than four months' provisions [in the Frigate] he did not see his way to spend time on any further exploration of the island of *Oriayatea*, and he would be very sorry to lose the northerly wind that might be looked for about the full of the moon, and which would make a

[1] Andía here refers to the *Rautoanui* passage, quoted by Capt. Cook as "Oraotanue," and "Hamanene" (for *Haamanino*), in lat. 16° 46′ on the West side of *Ra'iatea*. Large steam vessels and small sailing craft now use it. Cook took H.M.S. *Resolution* in there in 1773 and again in May 1774. His skill as a practical seaman is observable from the account in which he graphically yet simply describes the evolution of "borrowing" close to the reef and successfully shooting his vessel well into the passage with all sail set, right in the wind's eye. *Cf.* Cook's Journal [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, Sept. 8, 1773 and May 24, 1774].

But we must not forget Boenechea's implicit command from the Viceroy not to risk "so much as a rope-yarn" of the frigate (*cf.* vol. I, p. 267): nor the fact that he was elderly and in a frail state of health—as his death, only a fortnight after this, proved. See also p. 166, note 3.

[2] On the other hand Tupaia, who was a most intelligent and well informed *tahua*, himself a native of *Ra'iatea*, told Capt. Cook [Journal of the "Endeavour," Aug. 9, 1769] that the season corresponding to our months of November, December, and January is the time when westerly winds are more usual. This is now a well-known fact, for which I can vouch from personal experience. *Cf.* also A. S. D. p. 52.

speedy return to Otahiti easy. On account of all this he had decided to convene a Council of War on the morrow, and would keep me informed of what might come of it, and communicate his instructions for my guidance. With this I returned on board my ship.

The Council of War duly took place, and he afterwards called me on board his vessel again and gave me orders to return under his convoy to the island of 'AMAT,' which he also named to me as a rendez-vous, necessary in case of our becoming separated.

Porapora.

Before we got clear away from the island of *Oriayatea*, I took bearings of another which, although small, is high land, and is situated, reckoning by my longitude, in lat. 16° 30′ and long. 226° 15′. It is inhabited and subject to the suzerainty of *Oriayatea*: the name of *San Pedro* was allotted to it, but according to the Indians it is 'Porapora[1].'

Tapuaemanu.

After finally quitting *Oriayatea* for AMAT'S island I saw two other islands in the far distance, one called 'Tupuemanu,' to which the name *La Pelada* was given, situated in lat. 17° 31′ and long. 227° 14′[2], and the second called 'Emanu' or *Isla de los Pajaros*, situated in lat. 17° 53′ and long. 226° 59′[3]: they are high, but small.

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[1] The true position of the lofty and striking peak of *Borabora* or *Porapora* (2379 ft.) is lat. 16° 30′, long. 151° 44′. The entire island, with its lagoon and barrier reef is only 5 to 7 miles in width. Andía was mistaken in believing it subject to the Chiefs of *Ra'iatea*: on the contrary, at the time of which he writes, the powerful and aggressive *Porapora* chieftain O Puni held sway over both those islands as well as over *Tahaa*, *Tapuaemanu* and *Maurua*. The prowess of the *Porapora* men as warriors is in repute even to this day.

[2] The centre of *Tapuaemanu* lies in lat. 17° 38′, long. 150° 38′ W. from Greenwich.

[3] As to *Emanu*, which has no separate existence under that name, see p. 166, note 4 and p. 190, note 2. Definite information has reached me from Tahiti, since the earlier pages of this volume went to press, that *Manua* is the island now commonly called *Tubuai*, in lat. 23° 22′ S., long. 149° 28′ W. Andía cannot possibly have seen it.

I have been informed that they made out from the Frigate, during this passage back, two other islands in the far distance which I did not see: partly through my being farther away from them and partly because the storeship's spars were not so lofty as the Frigate's, from whose top they were sighted. According to what the Indians on board of her said, they were 'Taurua[1],' to which the name *Los tres Hermanos* was given—and 'Morùa[2]' which they named *San Antonio*. Deducting the 3° 32′ difference in longitude by which I reckoned myself farther to the Westward than the navigating officers of the Frigate, I should say that *Los tres Hermanos* are situated pretty nearly in lat. 17° and long. 228° 18′, and the one called *San Antonio* in lat. 16° 30′, long. 226° 3′. They also say that they are high[3].

Tetiaroa.

Maurua.

Navigation.

The winds we experienced during the passage back to AMAT'S island were variable, from all four points of the compass; but were accompanied by heavy rain-showers and violent gusts.

On the 15th we made out the islands of *Santo Domingo* and 'AMAT[4].' We immediately steered for the southern extremity of the latter (following the wake of the Comandante)[5] thinking to meet with winds from the East, in which event we should make the harbour more readily; but they held in the North until the 20th of January, when they hauled to the east'ard and enabled us to bring up in the harbour of *la Santissima Cruz de Fatutira* on that day:

[1] *Teturoa*, now called *Tetiaroa*. See note on p. 160.

[2] *Maurua*, now more often called *Maupiti*.

[3] Both latitudes are correct, within a mile or two. *Maurua* is 800 ft. high; but *Tetiaroa* is a low coral atoll.

[4] *i.e. Mo'orea* and Tahiti.

[5] The words in parenthesis occur only in the Santiago copy, as printed.

with lively enough regret on my part that of all the islands we fell in with during this last cruise none had been explored.

V.

[*The second stay in port at Tautira, and the death of the Comandante.*]

THERE was no other reason for our coming back again to this place except to learn, as has been said above, whether any adventure had happened between the *Padres* and the Indians during our absence. Nothing untoward had occurred; on the contrary, the Indians had of their own accord closed in or wattled the front, back, and sides[1] of the large house with stout bamboos lashed from post to post, and were setting about a similar job round the garden, from stake to stake. From this I believe that, provided the *Padres* have reciprocated, and have governed themselves as they ought, they may fare comfortably; for the people are biddable and will make them welcome with marks of sincere regard. By request of the *Padres* I fixed up an equinoctial sun-dial in the garden in order to serve for regulating the time-piece they had inside the house, for which they were very grateful to me.

Illness and death of the Comandante.

In consequence of the sudden seizure from which the Comandante was ailing having become aggravated during the voyage back from *Oriayatea*, and his life being now in danger, so that his death was expected at any moment, it became

[1] The printed version of M. Ternaux's MS. here has *cortados*—obviously an error (perhaps of the compositor) for *costados*. For *de puntal a puntal* in this copy the Santiago version prints *de pié derecho á pié derecho*—which amounts to the same thing.

necessary for us to remain at this place eight days; in the course of which we replenished our water, and laid in some plantains, coco-nuts, and hogs.

In fact, at half-past four in the afternoon of the 26th of January, 1775, Don Domingo Bonechea passed away. He was interred on the 27th at the foot of the Cross, in the missionary *Padres'* burial ground, with all the solemnity and honours dué to his rank and person.

VI.

[*The homeward voyage from Tahiti to El Callao, including the discovery of the island of Ra'ivavae.*]

Departure for El Callao.

Not having anything now to keep us longer at Otahiti it was decided to return to Lima, for which place we made sail on the 28th of January, with the wind at S.E., under the orders of Don Tomas Gayangos, [who was] next in seniority to the deceased Comandante.

From the 28th of January until the 4th of February we experienced variable winds from S.E. round by way of N. to S.W. This variability in a tract of ocean so far from any mainland made me think that we were passing the neighbourhood of islands; for they alone, and the different vapours they throw off, could occasion so much unsteadiness in the wind as has been met with by several voyagers who have navigated this Southern Ocean and others; and on this account we hove to every night.

Original discovery of *Ra'ivavae*.

In point of fact, on the morning of the 5th, two white birds about the size of a pigeon were seen, like those we saw before falling in with the islands we had discovered previously;

and on the horizon presently clearing, about half-past ten in the forenoon, we sighted an island of more than middling height which bore from us S.S.W. by compass. We made short tacks all that night in order to reconnoitre it on the morrow, and at half-past eight in the morning of the 6th, being already close in with the land, we hove to. Just then we noticed a canoe with several Indians in her, who, after taking a look at our two ships, put about towards the shore without caring to come close up to us, however much we called to them. On this I judged proper, as they were nearer to me than to the Frigate, that the two Indians I had on board of me should jump into their clothes and speak to them in the language of Otahiti, showing them some bits of red baize, looking-glasses, and other knick-knacks, in the hope of inducing them to come back. They did in fact make towards us again and we should have succeeded in attracting them alongside, had not the Comandante's boat set out just at that moment under oars and sail, with an officer and two other Indians that he had brought from Otahiti, and, heading for the canoe, caused so much alarm to those who were in it that, by paddling all they knew, they succeeded in regaining the shore.

The report made by the officer in charge of the boat, when he returned on board the Frigate, and which I copied word for word from the journal of one of her officers, is as follows:—

Lieut. Bonacorsi's Report of his intercourse with the natives.

"We set out from the Frigate at ten in the morning with the wind fresh, from the E., and on our heading directly for the Indians' canoe they paddled with all their might towards the shore. We came up with them after a short chase, but on taking in our sails in order to speak to them the boat overshot them and they gained the weather gauge of us. We got under way again, but this time with a view to make straight for the shore; for with this and the delays in getting within

hail of the canoe the day was drawing onward and we were getting no good out of it even when we succeeded in holding them up. In the course of these tactics and at times when we got near to them, Mabarua and Puhoro, Indians of Otahiti, were able to make out that they were enquiring the name of the *arii* of the Frigate.

"At half past eleven we passed in over a bank of submerged reefs that extend a mile and a half or so from the land and on taking several casts of the lead we got into a channel about one and a half cables from the beach, where we brought up with the grapnel and unshipped the masts.

"There were something like four hundred or five hundred Indians of all ages and sexes on the beach, giving hideous yells but not daring to range up close to us. At last one more venturesome and curious than the rest threw himself into the water and swam off until he reached our boat. He asked in the Otahitian language whether we came to make war on them: we replied 'no!' but that on the contrary we were friends, and desired to speak with them. He thereupon clambered into the boat, and set to a-dancing on the thwarts and shouting wildly; which being seen by those on shore it gave them courage and so many of them took to the water that we were obliged to resort to menaces to keep them back; these, however, were the more ineffectual in that the Indians' curiosity was overweening, and the little knowledge they had of the potency with which our menaces were backed caused these to be held for naught. Finding that these people would not leave us clear, and that they were rushing us more and more every moment, I decided to lift the grapnel and lie somewhat farther out from the beach under oars, in order that we might gather all the information we wanted amidst less confusion, as it would be more difficult for them to reach us there.

"We had to be continually on our guard against those who were hanging on to the boat's gunwales—and they were not a few—and were at great trouble to keep them at arm's length; for some of them attempted to carry off the oars, others the muskets, seamen's clothes, and in fact every loose thing they saw about us. Two of them snatched off the coxswain's and navigation cadet's red caps[1]

[1] A similar incident happened at Wallis's first meeting with the Tahitians, off *Faone*, when one of them snatched a midshipman's hat off his head (Henry Ibbot's) and instantly leapt overboard with it.

and made off to the shore with loud yells of delight at the booty they had secured. Another exchanged a string of pearl shells with one of the sailors, for a knife; but he showed by his manner of handling it that it was the first one he had ever seen.

"During all this turmoil Mabarua and Puhoro had been talking to a man of somewhat quieter demeanour than the rest, but the only words of his they understood were *henua*, *tamay*, *evahine*, *erí*[1], and a few other disjointed ones, but no connected conversation. Enquiry was made of them whether they had seen any other ships, but although they did not understand, one may feel assured that they have not, from the extraordinary inquisitiveness and astonishment they displayed at the sight of all our things, and their complete ignorance of the use or purpose of our steel weapons and flint-locks.

"After all this clatter had lasted some time and it had become necessary to use force in keeping them at bay, so as not to lay myself open to the necessity of having to inflict some injury on any of them (for I had no desire to create a scare amongst them, but on the contrary to make them anxious for our goodwill) I resolved to retire, and this we did by the same channel we had passed in by: arriving presently under sail alongside the Frigate.

"The reigning Chief in the island is called 'Terabero-bari'; his country is hilly, but wears a fairly fertile aspect. The trees that are called in Otahiti *Euru*, *Etoa*, *Eihi*, *Purau*, *Aitù*, *Tutuy*[2], and several others, extend half way up the slopes of the island; and there are several groves of coco-nut palms along its beaches.

"The people are like those of Otahiti: some white, many mulatto-coloured, and the rest somewhat more swarthy. They are not pigmented[3] in any part of their bodies, which are tall and well made. They have holes [pierced] in their ears, and wear the hair fastened in a tuft on the head. Their clothing consists of wraps like those of the Otahitians, and the ones we saw were in colour dark grey, red, and yellow.

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[1] Meaning land or country: fighting: women: and *arii* or Chief, respectively.

[2] *viz.* bread-fruit, ironwood, chestnut, *hibiscus*, *casuarina*, and candle-nut. The names are here very correctly given; but *toa* and *aito* are one and the same tree.

[3] Natives of the eastern Austral islands, including *Ra'ivavae*, did not tattoo; but those to the westward did. *Cf.* pp. 177–8, notes.

"The canoes have twin hulls: the bows and sterns sheer up high. The timber of which they are built is the *toa*, which has somewhat the look of mahogany; and they are painted along the gunwales[1].

"The weapons are wooden pikes very nicely made[2], and some other short cudgels; but we saw no gesture suggestive of warfare nor of any wish to inflict a hurt."

This island, which is called by its natives 'Oraibabae,' and by us *Sta Rosa*, is situated, by my finding, in lat. 23° 48′ and long. 231° about its middle part. It is small, fringed all round by reefs, and gave no show of possessing any harbour[3].

Continuation of the voyage.

After the Comandante's boat returned from its reconnaissance we made sail, heading S. ¼ S.W. to pass the island on its western side; and then we steered S. ¼ S.E., with an easterly wind which accompanied us as far as latitude 35° 56′, and long. 227° 31′; from that position it began to shift about between W., N.W., S.W., S., and S.E. into lat. 36° 29′, long. 232° 10′; where it then settled back into the eastward, blowing strong. On the 23rd of February, the horizon and atmosphere became obscured all round by a thick mist, notwithstanding that there was much wind; and this, rendering the night very dark, prevented the Comandante's light from being kept in view, which, as the thick weather still continued, resulted in our not being able to see anything of the Frigate in the morning, nor [at any time again] until we anchored in the harbour of El Callao[4].

They lose sight of the Frigate.

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[1] *Cf.* Gayangos' journal, pp. 177–8 and foot-note.

[2] *Cf. loc. cit.*

[3] The island was in fact *Ra'ivavae*, and this incident records its first discovery by Europeans. Its centre lies in lat. 23° 54′ S.—just without the tropic—and long. 147° 45′ W. of Greenwich. *Cf.* p. 180, foot-note.

[4] *Cf.* pp. 181–2. Gayangos seems to have suspected that Andía parted company either intentionally or through negligence.

The [continuance of] easterly winds drove us as far South as 44° 41′, where they set in to blow from the northern quarter. From lat. 42° 55′, long. 229° 44′, as far as to lat. 42° 48′, long. 249° 26′, we saw a great many *chorlitos*, a large mass of gulf-weed and sea-wrack[1], a log of wood, and the water in parts discoloured: all indications of there being some land in the neighbourhood, and still more so their having seen a seal from the Frigate, [a creature] which does not stray far afield[2].

From when we saw the first sign of land until we saw the last we ran 262 leagues[3], from which I infer that it may be some long stretch of coast connected with New Zealand, or perhaps a continent one and the same with that [country], since as yet no one has discovered the southern extremity of the latter, nor how far this may extend from East to West[4].

From the time we left these signs or indications of land until we stood for the outer island of Juan Fernandez we experienced variable winds from all quarters. There was a very coarse sea throughout the voyage from Otahiti, especially towards 44° S., knocked up by the easterly winds: so that any vessel that was not a strong one and whose masts were not thoroughly well stayed, would have been in some danger.

Más á fuera sighted.

At last, on the 27th of March, being the twenty-second day since we had left behind the signs of land I mentioned above,

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[1] *Chorlitos*—curlew, plover or sandpiper. The sea-weed might account for their being met with so far from land. Our improved knowledge of ocean currents explains the presence of weed in this locality. *Cf.* p. 184.

[2] There is no land anywhere near the position quoted—though this is not very far from where a continent was formerly reported to exist. *Cf.* pp. 180 and 182, notes.

[3] The Santiago version, as printed, has 268.

[4] See p. 294, note 2. He should have written 'West to East.'

we sighted the outer island of Juan Fernandez, fifty-eight days after taking our departure from Otahiti. The following statement, which perhaps appears trivial, may, if well considered, serve the State in good stead. When I sighted this same island of Juan Fernandez I measured my distance from it by a geometric method and thus checked my longitude. I found it to differ by no more than four minutes from the French chart of the year 1753[1]; so that what I said above on the subject of the log-line apparatus, the half-minute glass, and the question of longitude, is thus entirely confirmed[2].

Arrival, and conclusion of the voyage.

Finally, on the 9th of April, we sighted the Peruvian coast, and we anchored in the port of El Callao on the night of the 13th, six months and twenty-four days after having quitted it: and there I met my Comandante, who had anchored five days earlier.

Note.

Inasmuch as two navigating officers of the Frigate said they had seen three flat islands before arriving at Otahiti which I did not sight, it has seemed to me useful to draw up the table that follows: in which the reader will see at a glance, in [separate] columns, their own proper names, the names newly bestowed on them, and their latitudes and longitudes calculated by the reckoning I kept all through the voyage, with regard to the disparity we had between

[1] In the two other passages where Andía mentions the "French chart" he had with him he quotes its date as 1756. The one by le Sieur Robert de Vaugondy of that year is very inaccurate. That of 1753 was drawn up by M. Bellin, and so was another, published in 1756 for the use of the King's ships. See p. 225, note; and p. 256.

[2] In this paragraph Andía points with justice, and seeming pride, to the remarkable accuracy of his reckoning as contrasted with the accumulated error of longitude on board the frigate.

us. I have likewise thought it well to supply another table showing the Variation of the Compass, which I observed with an excellent mariner's compass of English make, and with the greatest possible care: omitting such observations as were not to my satisfaction.

TABLE

of the Proper Names, and those newly bestowed, of the Islands that were seen during the Voyage: with their latitudes, and their longitudes calculated from the meridian of Tenerife.

The R. signifies flat: the A. means high.

				Lat.	Long.
1.	. . . . .	S^{n} Narciso . .	R	17° 20′	238° 58′
2.	Noaroa . . .	Las Animas . .	R	17° 44′	236° 49′
3.	Topatuetota . .	S^{n} Simon y Judas .	R	17° 15′	236° 2′
4.	Erua . . .	S^{n} Juan . . .	R	17° 39′	235° 24′
5.	Tepua, south clump	Los Martires . .	R	17° 21′	235° 2′
6.	Eruo . . .	S^{n} Quintin . .	R	17° 30′	234° 15′
7.	Taboa . . .	S^{n} Julian . . .	R	17° 9′	233° 17′
8.	Huarava . .	S^{n} Blas . . .	R	16° 53′	232° 51′
9.	Topufue, S point .	Isla de todos Santos	R	17° 31′	232° 8′
10.	Matea . . .	S^{n} Diego . . .	A	16° 50′	230° 6′
11.	Maitù . . .	S^{n} Christoval . .	A	17° 44′	229° 34′
12.	Otahiti, P^{t}. Sta. Cruz	Isla de Amat . .	A	17° 45′	228° 56′
13.	Tauroa . . .	Los 3 Hermanos .	A	17° 00′	228° 18′
14.	Morea . . .	S^{to} Domingo . .	A	17° 28′	227° 55′
15.	Tapuemanu . .	La Pelada . .	A	17° 31′	227° 14′
16.	Manua . . .	Isla de Pajaros .	A	17° 53′	226° 59′
17.	Oagine . . .	La Hermosa . .	A	16° 45′	226° 59′
18.	Oriayatea, p^{ta} del S.	La Princesa . .	A	16° 59′	226° 40′
19.	Porapora . .	S^{n} Pedro . . .	A	16° 30′	226° 15′
20.	Morua . . .	S^{n} Antonio . .	A	16° 30′	226° 3′
21.	Oraibabae . .	Sta Rosa . . .	A	23° 48′	231° 00′

TABLE

of the Variation of the Compass I observed during the Voyage; with latitudes S., and longitudes from the meridian of Tenerife, where I observed them; all being NE^{ly}.

Lat.	Long.		Var^{n}.
11° 57′	295° 20′	. . . . .	8° 31′
12° 39′	290° 05′	. . . . .	8° 28′
13° 53′	285° 09′	. . . . .	7° 13′
14° 49′	282° 53′	. . . . .	7° 10′
17° 32′	261° 15′	. . . . .	2° 7′
17° 30′	260° 07′	. . . . .	2° 8′
17° 41′	259° 26′	. . . . .	2° 1′
17° 29′	257° 41′	. . . . .	1° 57′
The meridian where there is no variation is in this tract.			
17° 25′	238° 30′	. . . . .	3° 30′
17° 25′	234° 36′	. . . . .	4° 00′
17° 39′	229° 42′	. . . . .	4° 30′
17° 35′	228° 56′	Port Santa Cruz . . .	6° 37′
17° 00′	226° 49′	Oriayatea	7° 15′
23° 40′	231° 18′	Isle of Santa Rosa . . .	6° 19′
28° 10′	227° 25′	. . . . .	7° 04′
29° 24′	226° 55′	. . . . .	8° 19′
34° 00′	227° 04′	. . . . .	8° 43′
36° 15′	232° 10′	. . . . .	8° 31′
44° 41′	238° 30′	. . . . .	6° 25′
41° 59′	225° 55′	. . . . .	2° 14′
In this tract we again crossed the meridian where there is no variation.			
41° 03′	261° 52′	. . . . .	3° 10′
40° 53′	262° 47′	. . . . .	3° 28′
39° 16′	271° 47′	. . . . .	3° 45′
39° 05′	279° 45′	. . . . .	5° 00′
35° 19′	293° 04′	. . . . .	10° 14′
27° 40′	296° 51′[1]	. . . . .	12° 16′
26° 21′	297° 00′	. . . . .	11° 42′
25° 20′	298° 00′	. . . . .	11° 36′
24° 35′	298° 09′	. . . . .	11° 28′
17° 43′	300° 12′	Abreast of the heights of Atico .	10° 25′
14° 53′	298° 48′	In sight of the Morro de Cavallas	9° 59′
13° 54′	298° 07′	Abreast of Zangallan island .	9° 14′

End of Andía y Varela's Journal.

[1] Printed 269° 51′ in the Paris and Santiago editions.

Remarks.

[At this point in the history of the *Aguila's* expeditions to Tahiti the second and most notable of the three may be said to terminate. Her first expedition, in 1772–3, was of a purely tentative and exploratory character. It came indeed as an afterthought, a corollary to the Viceroy's original purpose of having Easter Island re-examined in order to supplement and complete the work begun there by the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalía* in 1770 (*cf.* vol. I, pp. 224–243). The second visit to Tahiti resulted, as has been related in the present volume, in an understanding with the native Chiefs expressed in the Convention of *Hatutira* (pp. 157–8) concurrently with the establishment there of a politico-ecclesiastical Mission. The members of the Mission party comprised two Franciscan *padres* from the Ocopa college—*Fr.* Narciso González (a native of Estremadura in Old Spain) and *Fr.* Gerónimo Clot or Clota, a Catalán as his name suggests. Associated with them as Interpreter and escort was the young marine named Máximo Rodríguez—the "Mateema" of Captain Cook's narrative [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 76]—whose duty it was to facilitate the *padres'* intercourse with the natives and to act for both parties as a sort of herald or go-between, so that the Tahitians came to speak of Máximo as the Spaniards' *auvaha.* To these three persons a fourth was added by Commander Gayangos, at the last moment before the frigate's departure and at the instance of the *padres*, one Francisco Pérez, a *grumete*—that is, an ordinary seaman or ship's 'boy'—who was told off to cook, carry water, chop firewood, look after the pigs and the hen-yard, and generally to perform such menial offices as attach to "Jimmy Ducks" at sea, and be bottle-washer in ordinary to the settlement (pp. 205–7).

The experiences of the party and some of the public occurrences which took place during its sojourn in the island, including the very regrettable illness and pathetic death of Vehiatua, now claim attention and are presented in the pages (319—349) next following, being the Diary or narrative written by the *padres* themselves.—ED.]

DIARY

OF THINGS NOTEWORTHY

that occurred at AMAT'S Island (alias *Otageti*) between the 28th day of January, 1775, when His Majesty's Frigate named the *AGUILA* put to sea for the Port of El Callao, and the 12th of November in the same year, when she sailed a second time for the same Port conveying the

Rev^{d} apostolic preachers

Fr. GERONIMO CLOTA and *Fr.* NARCISO GONZALEZ

of the College of *Propaganda Fide*

of Santa Rosa of

Ocopa.

[The particular text from which this translation has been made is a MS. in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia* at Madrid, to which access was very courteously allowed for the examination of it and other archives. It occurs in *tomo* 66 of the *Coleccion de* Muñoz, in the form of a copy made for that historian about the year 1782, beginning at f. 217. It contains many passages that do not appear in Estala's version as printed in *El Viagero Universal* [Bibl. no. 37] nor, consequently, in the published translations by Dr Bratring [Bibl. no. 20] in German, and the *Messager de Tahiti* [Bibl. no. 71] in French (*cf.* vol. I, Introduction, pp. xxxviii, xxxix, xliii, xliv, and vol. II, p. 219). For this reason, and because the MS. is of earlier date than either printed account of the Mission, and must have been transcribed from an original document, it has been preferred for insertion in this work; and therefore two translations that had been successively made from the printed sources above-mentioned, before the MS. was met with, were discarded in favour of the present one.—ED.]

28th of January.

THE FRIGATE sailed at noon from the harbour called *La Santissima Cruz de Ohatutira*, accompanied by her storeship from Lima named the *Jupiter*.

29th.—The marine and Interpreter called Maximo Rodriguez went to *Huayari*[1], a district of the *arii* Vehiatua.

1st of February.—The *arii's* mother accompanied by her husband Titorea[2] came to our hospice at 6 o'clock in the morning, to let us know that the very Heathens[3] who had been sleeping inside the house had robbed us during the night; and gave us to understand that they were the relatives of the boy Manuel. Although we did not then believe it, it was true; because on the

2nd—, Fr. Geronimo heard a noise at daybreak, and, becoming aware that some one was passing over the roof of the wooden house, he got up and found a boy who had climbed up to where we kept our linen and store of everything. On seeing this we called up the *arii's* mother and his step-father Titorea, and when they arrived we told them what was going on. They replied that the boy Manuel and his father knew of the theft; and on Manuel being asked about it he made answer that they had all been parties to it, etc.

In the afternoon Manuel asked Fr. Geronimo for leave to go to his house to see his mother, who, he said, was ill: he was told, in reply, that she was very well and that he must wait until the Sunday, and that he might go then after hearing mass. He answered "Yes, *Padre*."

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[1] *Waiari* or *Vaiari*, a small but formerly very important district of the *Teva* clan, adjoining the isthmus on its W. side—now called *Papeari*. It had a sacrosanct *marae* in the old days, and the Head Chief of *Vaiari* was perhaps, at one time, the most venerated personage in all Tahiti.

[2] Titorea, as they wrote it, was really Ti'itorea.

[3] *Gentiles* in the Spanish. Regarding this term see p. 212, foot-note.

5*th.*—After hearing mass the boy went off to his house, which is in the district of *Tayarapu*[1], accompanied by his father, two brothers, and two uncles; and he was warned that he must come back on the Sunday next following to hear mass.

7*th.*—A portion of the garden was fenced in by order of the *arii.*

8*th.*—Fr. Geronimo went with the Interpreter up the *Ohatutira* gully, where a great many people live, but in scattered fashion. We did not get back without a wetting, as it rained in plenty.

11*th.*—The garden fence was finished, and many of the weeds were cleared away so as to leave the middle part clean.

13*th.*—The *arii* Vehiatua went off to the district of *Tayarapu*, where the boy Manuel was. Fr. Geronimo begged the *arii* to order Manuel to come to our house, for we suspected he was absconding, since he did not come on the 12th to hear mass as he had been warned to do.

In the afternoon Fr. Geronimo and the Interpreter went to the *Ohatutira* gully to ask for bamboos with which to make a fence round the plot of ground in front of our house, where the Most Holy Cross is erected and the two bodies—the one that of the Commander of the Frigate *Aguila*, Dn. Domingo Boenechea, and the other of a seaman who lost his life suddenly at that very spot, through a blow from a palm they were cutting down, and which, in falling, struck him across the head.

14*th.*—The boy Manuel arrived at our hospice at four in the afternoon, by the *arii's* order, accompanied by his

[1] By *Tayarapu* the *padres* mean the neighbourhood of *Vaiuru* only—not the whole peninsula.

father. We received them with gladness and with open arms, and also gave them a meal there and then, in order the better to satisfy them; but, as they had come against their will, they fled back again to their house when night came on, where they were found already lying down. The attendants, seeing this and that it was then late, turned in too.

15*th.*—The said attendants arrived at the Hospice in the morning, and stated that the boy Manuel had said he would come on the following day.

They brought bamboos from the *Ohatutira* gully to-day for the fence round the fore-court.

16*th.*—*Padre* Narciso fell sick with colicky pains and vomiting. A remedy was administered to him in the shape of three clysters, and at the end of two days he was well.

20*th.*—A palm which was threatening our house with ruin was cut down.

21*st.*—The *arii's* mother, with all her household and domestic traps, removed from this district and travelled to that of *Tayarapu*, where her son Vehiatua was staying.

22*nd.*—The *arii* Otu's mother, as well as his father[1], his brothers and sisters, and all his people embarked for *Tayarapu*, where Otu was awaiting them to proceed together to his estates. From this day the district of *Ohatutira* was left without any people in the neighbourhood of our hospice until the *arii* Vehiatua returned.

23*rd.*—A beginning was made at fencing in the space in front of the hospice, and also the passage-way which was left round it within the shed (under which the wooden

[1] See p. 215, notes 1 and 2.

house stands); because there is so much rain in this country that the studs and cross-beams were in a fair way to be destroyed by the wet.

24*th.*—The passage-way was finished.

25*th.*—The other passage-way, at the end that looks towards the garden, was begun.

On the morning of this same day there arrived at our Hospice the heathen who is the *arii* Vehiatua's confidential henchman with a message that his sick master was sending him to us that we might give him a small live pig, with some salt pork from Lima, biscuits, and honey. We gave him all this with great pleasure, and he started off to the district of *Ayautea*, where the sick *arii* was. The Interpreter went to *Tayarapu* to persuade the boy Manuel to come and live with us; but to this he replied roundly that he would not.

26*th.*—Work was got on with along the passage-way.

27*th.*—The passage-way was finished, and a bit of the fence round the fore-court was done.

9*th of March.*—They stole a sheet from the Interpreter's bed during the night.

11*th.*—In the morning the Interpreter went to visit the *arii* Vehiatua, and begged him that he would direct the boy Manuel to come to *Ohatutira* and take up his quarters with us. The *arii* told him that he should be taken to our house. The Interpreter came back to *Ohatutira* at once, and so quickly that he was home again by 12 noon.

At two in the afternoon the *arii* himself arrived, and with him his henchman Taytoa, and the boy accompanying them. We asked the latter if he were willing to live with us; and he answered with tears that he didn't want to. We represented to him the ill he was doing, and that he

ought to give heed to the great favour God had shown him in having brought about his baptism, etc., as well as the kindness he had received from the Lord Viceroy, and other things that were told him for the good of his soul ; but it was of no avail, and greatly to our grief, seeing that that soul was being lost.

12*th.*—The *arii* Vehiatua took his leave after having dined with us, and returned to *Tayarapu.* A few days later we learned that the boy and his father had been banished by the *arii*, and were wandering about the island homeless.

16*th.*—They stole two sheets and a shirt from the Interpreter. It was known who the thief was, but no more than one sheet could be got back from him.

17*th.*—In the afternoon Fr. Geronimo started out accompanied by the Interpreter for the place called *Arahero*, and there we came upon an immense concourse of the heathen and saw a woman shedding blood from her head in the presence of all the crowd and bewailing the death of her child.

18*th.*—They stole a pigling from us but we had word of the thief, who was the headman of the district of *Ohatutira*, very well known to us and called Tarioro.

19*th.*—In the afternoon Fr. Geronimo and the Interpreter went out and walked up the *Ohatutira* ravine in order to recover the pigling. We arrived at the headman Tarioro's house, and the Interpreter, feigning not to know who might have been the thief, said to him that a pigling had been stolen from us and, therefore, would he be so kind as to have search made for it and to discover who had got it? He smiled, and said he would look out for it. What he did do was to make a present of it to the *arii*, saying that the *Padres* had given it to him. The *arii* presently

learned that the aforesaid headman had stolen it from us, and immediately restored it and sent it to our house; the headman, he deprived of his position and lands, and banished him from the *Ohatutira* district, so that no more was seen of him in these parts until after the *arii's* death. This action on the part of the *arii* was not that of a barbarian pagan such as he, but the action of a Christian most fully in keeping with the holy Law of God.

Now I want to relate an affair that happened to this headman in the last days of February, before this. He was a married man; but did not live with his wife, as he had turned her out of his house. The woman was staying at her father's house, quite close to our Hospice, although the latter did not want her there, and was not giving her food. Notwithstanding this he [the husband] came after her to use her as his wife, when the father was absent; and the latter learnt from his daughter what I have just said. So, resenting this conduct on the part of his son-in-law, the father kept watch over his house to catch him inside having commerce with the daughter, and to take his life He succeeded at last in catching him and attacked his son-in-law with a Flemish knife in hand to kill him, while the daughter helped him also with the same intent. But they were not able to finish with him; for, although badly wounded, he escaped from them and fled to our hospice. This affray happened one day very early in the morning before the sun was up. On seeing him so slashed and injured we asked him with whom had he been fighting? Who had wounded him in this manner? He answered that it was his father-in-law who wanted to kill him, and that his wife had been helping him, too, with that object; and the why and wherefore was what I have just related. It was pitiful to see him so much cut about, on the neck, the arms, the hands and on the body, but the largest and most dangerous wound he had was of the left elbow. He

got perfectly well, however, in spite of such severe injuries, without any surgeon, or any dressings that would require his naked body to be covered, but simply by washing himself in the wholesome water of the river.

24*th.*—Accompanied by the Interpreter, Fr. Geronimo went over to the district of *Ahuy*[1] to visit a very intelligent heathen and kind hearted man, from whom we had received the favour of several presents of fish, and who had also lent us the net when we asked for it. He also came to see us now and again. Having paid our visit to this heathen[2] we returned to our hospice.

30*th.*—The hen-yard was completed.

5*th of April.*—*Padre* Narciso ill: he had a calenture from which jaundice developed. Medicine was administered to him, and in time he got well.

12*th.*—Work on the fence round the fore-court or precinct in front of the house was finished, and a wooden door with a key was fixed in it.

15*th.*—It rained very hard in the afternoon and the river became so swollen that it split up into three courses, one of which overflowed into and passed through the garden of our Hospice.

24*th.*—*Padre* Narciso and the Interpreter set out for the district of *Huayari*[3] to visit the *arii* Vehiatua, who was ill. The seaman was also ill on this day, of a running at the eyes.

27*th.*—Those above stated arrived back at the Hospice from the district of *Huayari*[3].

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[1] *Ahui* was a small district adjoining the *Vaitepiha* ravine on the *Pueu* side.

[2] See p. 212, note 1.

[3] See p. 320, note 1.

The sailor was very bad through the night, so that he gave us no chance to rest all night; for the violent pain he suffered in his eyes and head kept him continually yelling out and declaring that he was going out of his mind. We applied such treatment as we could. The pains took off, and in a few days he was well.

5*th of May.*—*Padre* Narciso and the Interpreter went to the district of *Tayarapu* to look for some bamboos that we needed for fencing in a part of the garden; and on the

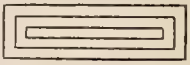
6*th*—, they came back without any, but fully expecting that some of the people of that district would bring them to our house as they had promised. They failed to do so however, being afraid that the headman of the said district would forestall them with the payment.

31*st.*—Owing to the positive news we had that our *arii* Vehiatua was lying very ill at a small island[1] opposite the district of *Tayarapu*, which is without people and dedicated solely to their false god Teatua, *Padre* Narciso and the Interpreter embarked and went to the islet to visit him and persuade him to come to his house at *Ohatutira*, so that we might busy ourselves in giving him relief, and induce him to dismiss the *Tahuas* who were imposing upon him with their pretences and eating up his pigs without giving him any physic. To this he made answer that he would come to *Ohatutira* after he had visited another *marae*[2] where he was presently going to perform the *Epure* with the *Tahuas*. The *marae* is a sanctuary or place (dedicated to the false god these heathens worship) usually laid out in the guise of a small square plot of ground, with two or

[1] Máximo names the islet *Vai o tihi* in his Diary, and tells the story of *Padre* Narciso's encounter with an inspired or possessed *tahua* somewhat differently. The islet seems to have been *Fenua ino*, shown at E on Hervé's Plan and *Vista*, no. II in the pocket of vol. I. Its companions are now known as *Aihuta* and *Tiere*.

[2] See p. 140, foot-note.

three high steps formed of stones, and the summit, where they keep certain rude wooden figures that they call *Eti*[1], nicely levelled. The expression *Epure* means to pray, and the term *Tahua* signifies a master[2]. I have said the *marae* usually takes the form of a small level plot, because there are some which are built without such a surface but are of this figure and from five to six *varas* in height.



It was at this island where *Padre* Narciso found himself assailed by a *Tahua* with a good big stone held in his uplifted hands; and if one of the heathen, a servant of the *arii*, named Taytoa, had not been there to prevent the carrying out of this wicked design—which he knew the *Tahua* was fostering—badly indeed would the said *Padre* have come through it.

1*st of June.*—*Padre* Narciso and the Interpreter arrived at the hospice, leaving the *arii* at the above mentioned island.

5*th.*—The *arii* arrived during the night, ill of a severe calenture, with catarrh, and entirely disabled in his arms and legs. He begged us for relief, and desired us to take his treatment in hand. Knowing that his illness proceeded from chills we gave him a warm draught that same night, to excite perspiration, after which the invalid enjoyed a good sweat.

6*th.*—The invalid awoke somewhat relieved; and seeing that the medicine had done him good overnight the draught was repeated, and a very efficacious oil was applied at the same time to his knees, to take away the pains he had in those parts which hindered him from being able to walk. And, these remedies being continued, the calenture left

[1] *Ti'i*, a carved figure or effigy.

[2] See vol. I, p. 335, note 2.

him little by little, and the pains in the knees and arms became mitigated, so that by the 22nd he began to get up a little. Word of the *arii* Vehiatua's improvement, which was not expected, spread throughout the island ; and at this news his subjects began to come in to *Ohatutira* to visit him and amuse him with dances, interludes, and the music of a drum and two wooden instruments they have which, when all [struck] in combination, make a great noise.

14*th.*—The number of people who gathered together to entertain their *arii* was so great that, by the extent of ground they occupied, we judged there might be three thousand souls. The yells this numerous throng at times sent forth were such as to inspire us with dread. On the conclusion of the festival or *Heyba*, which lasted a good long while, the people left.

17*th.*—In the morning there came a large number of youths, of good parts, to present themselves before their *arii* Vehiatua in accordance with a certain usage and custom they have. This custom is that at certain times, or Moons, the youths of each district meet together and repair to one of the large sheds they have for keeping their big canoes under, such as they employ when they go to war with another island. On being ensconced therein, and provided with their eatables, they lay themselves down on the dry grass spread for the purpose, and a wrap that each one brings serves him for pillow and covering. This wrap, which is very thin, a little thinner than straw paper, is made of the barks of certain small trees. They do not get up except for their bodily necessities ; they eat and sleep as much as they can. An old man serves them with meals: they go on in this way for the space and time of one moon in order to grow fat and lusty and high-spirited.

When the period of fattening is completed they get up and anoint their bodies all over with coco-nut oil; and fix plaits of palm leaves on to their heads which, when placed above the forehead, keeps their faces shaded from the sun when it shines on them. They furthermore gird themselves about with a long strip of native cloth of various colours, over the breech-clout. Got up in this guise they march to the *arii's* house, on nearing which, but before reaching it, one of them who acts as their leader takes up a position in front of the fattened ones and gives utterance to loud yells until they all arrive opposite to the doorway of the house. The leader enters alone, to report to the *arii* and render an account of all the fattened ones, whom at the same time he announces as having come to make their obeisance before him, naming each one separately by his name and the district he comes from. He then immediately delivers to the *arii* the wraps of bark-cloth that the fattened ones present to him; while the bystanders rush forward with a lot of clatter and yelling and rip off the parti-coloured girdles, leaving the fattened ones with only their breech-clouts on.

As a finish, after a noisy *Heyba* of drums, they acted [on this occasion] a farce representing one of the heathen whose wife was jealous. The function lasted an hour and a half, and was very amusing because the clown played his part with great cleverness. When from time to time the music of the drums was sounded the actors, placed in a row and in that wise bending well forward towards the ground, kept time to the measure by swaying their bodies and limbs without moving from their places; all following the lead of the clown, who was stationed in front of them. They are extraordinarily quick in their motions and move the different parts of their bodies with wonderful agility and ease, throwing themselves into a variety of contortions and making frightful grimaces the while.

Women also take part in the dances and interludes, very modestly dressed; they resemble Spanish women, and are not behind the men in agility of body.

18*th.*—Three hours before dawn Fr. Geronimo heard the hens cackle, and he called in a loud voice to the Interpreter, who was sleeping very near to them, to get up. But although he got up quickly he was not able to prevent a heathen from carrying one of them off. The *arii's* henchmen heard Fr. Geronimo's voice, who was shouting out the word "*Guarero*[1]*!*" which means "thief." They immediately got up and ran after the thief, who turned out to be a servant belonging to the *arii's* mother. They said nothing [to him] but went secretly to inform their mistress; and she banished her thievish servant the very same day to another district far away from *Ohatutira. Heyba*: with a throng of people, and drums.

19*th.*—They are still going on with the *Heybas* and the concourse of heathens continues.

22*nd.*—We remained inside the house in great anxiety, because of the large number of people who collected to celebrate the recovery of the *arii*, who was now up from his bed and well of almost all his troubles.

23*rd.*—After midday the *arii* Vehiatua walked across from his house to ours, accompanied by an uncle of his and by his little brother Natagua[2] and some of their attendants; and he dined with us at table. In the afternoon the *Heyba* was resumed with a great clamour of drums and shouting.

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[1] Elsewhere written (as in the Vocabulary, pp. 18, 19) *guariro*, and probably represents *haariro*, which had a kindred meaning but seems not to be used now in precisely the same sense.

[2] Printed 'Natapua' in *El Viagero Universal*; Máximo, however, mentions him in his diary as 'Tetuaounouna'—after his assumption of office in succession to Vehiatua.

24*th.*—A vast number of people arrived before the sun was up, and struck terror with their disorderly voices and yelling. They did their *Heyba*, which lasted an hour, without drums; and brought their performance to a close by all repeating one particular word (whose meaning we did not understand) over and over again together, with such force and loud yelling that it appalled one. The greater portion of them then went off, and the rest stayed a few hours.

They stole five chickens from us.

2nd of July.—The Interpreter went to the district of *Opare*, lands which belong to the *arii* Otù.

The *arii* Vehiatua fell sick again: food was sent to him from our hospice.—*Heyba.*

3*rd.*—We gave some dinner to the *arii.*—*Heyba.*

4*th.*—In the morning *Heyba*, with music of drums, a great gathering of people and a long discourse delivered by a *Tahua* in the presence of all this crowd, who listened with silent attention. We were among those mentioned, by our own names, in this homily; as were also the two laymen, as well as the *arii's* step-father named Titorea and another heathen called Taytoa—a vassal and hanger-on of his. Of the rest of all that the *Tahua* declaimed we understood no word.

Until now nothing had been seen of the *Tahuas*, all through his illness, since the sick *arii* dismissed them when he came to *Ohatutira* for us to take his treatment in hand. *Heyba* in the afternoon. The *arii's* illness continued to wax more and more grave.

5*th.*—Numerous crowd, and *Heyba* with drums.

6*th.*—Numerous crowd, and *Heyba* morning and afternoon. The illness getting worse.

7th.—Morning and afternoon again *Heyba.* The invalid had himself conveyed to the district of *Tayarapu*, by the advice of the *Tahuas.* Those impostors persuaded him that he would get better of his disorder there ; but it was not so, for his condition became worse.

16*th.*—The invalid arrived at *Ohatutira* again in the afternoon, and they placed him in a different house from the one he had stayed in before being taken to *Tayarapu*, but quite near to ours—a matter of a *quadra*[1] distant. Immediately after he arrived the invalid sent for Fr. Geronimo and begged for a portion of the sheep we had killed on the previous day, for his dinner. His request was not complied with then, nor until the following day. He likewise asked him for some biscuit and plantains ; and this wish was gratified at once, plantains and biscuit being then and there supplied to him.

The invalid was now in a very bad way, for when he wanted to sit up on his bed it was necessary for an attendant to support him by the shoulders, and in addition to his increasing weakness he was racked by a violent calenture.

17*th.*—We gave the invalid the food he had desired of us the day before ; but he did no more than just taste it.

18*th.*—The Interpreter arrived home with his party at 9 o'clock at night from the district of *Opare* (where the *arii* called Otù resides), and conveyed ashore the rolls of mats and native cloth he brought with him from that and other districts by the way. He also landed a large bowl[2] made of black stone, and other things.

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[1] About 150 *varas* or paces: see p. 128, note 2.

[2] This bowl is preserved in the ethnological collection at the *Museo Nacional* in Madrid, where I had the good fortune to find it, and identify it for the authorities, in 1912. It is wonderfully fashioned out of a single block of fine-grained dolerite (probably from *Maurua*),

22*nd.*—The *Tahuas* were very busy offering up *Epure* or prayers for their sick *arii*; for they employed themselves at this through the greater part of the day. When night came they set up a doleful but noisy music of drums and flutes. Now and again the musicians would pause for one of the *Tahuas* to deliver his speech. The function lasted a long time, because there were many such homilies; and as often as one was finished the musicians resumed their playing, and the *Tahuas* in turn their praying, sometimes in monotone and sometimes singing, until after midnight.

23*rd.*—At 7 in the morning we heard some women, who were in the invalid's house, crying violently, and the *Tahuas* who were outside praying at a great rate and with unaccustomed shouts. Hearing such a din we inferred that the invalid had been overtaken by some fatal seizure. We went out into the roadway and met a large number of men and boys, walking in single file and each bearing plantain suckers on his shoulder, all proceeding in the direction of the *marae* and crying aloud to their false god Teatua. On reaching the *marae* they deposited their suckers there and made their way back to the house of the invalid, calling out as they went. We asked what the meaning of this was, and they said they thought the *arii* was about to die.

A large sow of ours, in young and nearing her time to litter, disappeared. The *arii* asked us for eatables and we gave them.

24*th.*—The *Tahuas*, impostors, gave out that Teatua, their false god, had entered into the body of the invalid, and that in ten days' time he would be well.

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stands on four feet, is oval in shape with a lip at the pointed end, and measures 46 inches in length and 22½ inches across. Máximo's diary, which is reserved for vol. III of this work, contains a full description of how he came by it; and its subsequent vicissitudes are narrated in his petition or memorial submitted by the Viceroy de Croix to the King, in 1788. Banks mentions a similar bowl [Bibl. no. 10, p. 117].

25*th.*—In the morning there came to visit the *arii* a person feigning to be possessed by their false god Teatua, beating his chest with furious blows from both fists, rocking his head like a maniac, and making frightful grimaces with his eyes and mouth. Presently he burst out declaring that the soul of the deceased Taytoa[1] (who was the *arii* before Vehiatua) had entered the body of the present Vehiatua, because the relations of Vehiatua had made away with a mat or pallet of his, called in the language of the island *moea a tahi*[2], and two files, previous to Taytoa's death; and that the invalid would not get well until they gave up the files and the mat to himself. They handed them over to him, and then this person said that the *arii* would begin to walk again within three days, and that after ten days he would be wholly restored to health.

They carried the invalid to the *marae* in order that Teatua, their false god, should there restore the soul to its proper body, and with this object the *Tahuas* conducted an *epure* or invocation to Teatua in that place. On the conclusion of this heathen rite they conveyed the sick *arii* back again to his house; and the impostor who had come to visit him took himself off and did not again put in an appearance.

26*th.*—The sow (that went astray on the 23rd) was discovered hidden away in the jungle, and had already given birth; but they found only three little ones with her, two being alive and the other one dead. We sent word of this to the *arii's* mother, and she told us who had been the thief and who had possession of the rest of the litter, which were five. We went in search of the thief, and

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[1] Vehiatua's father, who reigned next before him and had died about two and a half years before this time, was known as Vehiatua, but had personal names besides his official titles. One such name may have been Taitoa; but the *padres* affirm (p. 204) that he was called 'Aguemay,' *more tahitense* Ahuemai. *Cf.* also p. 265, note 1.

[2] *i.e.* 'one mat.'

when we found him he made restitution. And we were so pleased with the good actions this woman did for us that when the five young pigs were old enough we gave them all to her.

27th.—At 6 in the morning a henchman of the sick *arii* came into our hospice, and gave us to understand by means of words, signs, and showing us a fresh wound he had above the ear on the left side of his head, that he had been engaged in a scuffle and that they had dragged him down and wounded him. Fr. Geronimo, to whom the man had addressed himself, finding that he could not properly understand what he was trying to explain, through not knowing the language, then called the Interpreter to enquire of the henchman what he was saying. He made answer that a young man, whom he wanted to kill [as a sacrifice] for the health of his master the *arii*, had turned upon him and wounded him, and that he came near being killed by him himself: etc. He further declared, and told to us through the Interpreter, that five men had gone forth from the invalid's house after midnight for the purpose of slaying victims for the invalid's recovery; but that they had not been able to kill anyone that night. With such unequivocal evidence of the ruthlessness of those barbarians before us we might well fear that we stood in immediate danger of losing our lives; and this was our deliberate and well founded opinion—seeing these inhuman pagans did not hesitate to take the lives of their own countrymen.

We therefore decided to bring out our fire-arms, which until then we had kept hidden away, and the marine-Interpreter accordingly loaded them for us. After we had eaten our midday meal the marine took the arms outside in order that the heathen should see them and be afraid; and to further intimidate them he set to firing them off, up to seventeen shots. Great was the fear that took hold of

them, for those who happened to be about the bank of the river, which is quite close to the house we lived in, instantly plunged into it and dived under water.

After the muskets had been fired off a few of our most familiar acquaintances and some henchmen of the *arii* timidly approached the fence of our house and called to Fr. Geronimo, saying "*Pare* Geronimo, *matau*, *matau*": which was to tell him they were very much afraid. The *Padre* answered them "*ayma matau*"—'there is nothing to fear,'—"that was only done to clean out the *pupuhi*" (for thus they call our muskets and all fire-arms). And to calm their trepidation and not let them think ill of us, Fr. Geronimo opened the gate of the fore-court and let them through; and they stayed a long while looking at the arms.

A little later on we learned that six men, of whom one was a *tahua* called Naeva, had sallied out from the *arii's* house to catch somebody to slay, just before the muskets were discharged; and that these had been the very people who cast themselves into the river on hearing the shots, but had afterwards gone back again to the *arii's* house.

28*th.*—In the morning they gave us positive news that a man had been killed that night in the *Ohatutira* ravine, a quarter of a league from our house; and on our asking where the corpse was they told us it had been conveyed to the *marae* in the district of *Atehuru*, where all the bodies sacrificed to their false god Teatua are deposited.

On this same morning, about nine o'clock, a large number of people of both sexes arrived from various districts to bewail their *arii*, whom they considered as about to die. This immense throng came uttering loud lamentations with wailing and words which showed how great was the grief that was oppressing the hearts of these barbarians.

The order they observed was this:—The women walked in front, and the men behind: the former in good order, but the latter without any. The women walked four and four abreast, and in this formation they halted in front of the doorway of the invalid's house, and one of those in the front row began to weep with a doleful outcry, but without tears, and to score herself about the head with a shark's tooth. The others followed suit, acting in the same manner. In the right hand they grasped a piece of white bark cloth, in which they caught the blood as it dripped in front from their heads; while with the left hand they smeared it over their bodies, which were stripped as far as the waist.

The words they utter in these episodes, and whenever they weep, are "*ague! ague!*" which is the same as "ay! ay!" in our Spanish tongue[1].

This heathen ceremony lasted until their bodies had got well stained and reddened with blood; and, while the women were shedding it, the men offered a plantain sucker to Teatua and presented some small hogs to the invalid, and the women likewise a quantity of native cloth. After this they went to the river and washed off the blood, and returned to their homes.

At 8 o'clock that morning they carried the invalid across to the opposite bank of the river, and esconced him in one of his houses that stand between it and the sea [-beach][2]. At four in the afternoon one of the boys who waited on us in the hospice, named Mayoro, came in from the pathway, and told us that he had heard say that if the sick *arii* should die, the people of the *Tayarapu* district

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[1] Tah. *aue-e-e!* In English, "Alas! Alas!", or "Woe is me!"

[2] The spot is opposite the lowermost C in the river on Hervé's Plan of *Hatutira* in the pocket at the end of this volume. Two nice views of it are in the British Museum: one in colours, drawn and signed by Mr Webber in 1777 [Add. MSS. 15513 (13)] and a replica in neutral tint [K. 7—Tab. 74]. See also the chart at p. 120.

would come and lay violent hands upon us in order to plunder us of all we possessed in the way of implements, clothing and other things.

At eight o'clock at night we heard the *tahuas* who were watching in the *arii's* house and carrying on their *epure*, utter loud shouts, whilst running about the beach and invoking their false god to restore Vehiatua to health. Their outrageous yelling went on for some time; and perceiving that the riot was getting nearer and nearer to our hospice, the marine and the sailor immediately got their arms ready in view of what might happen, and against any assault upon us that might be feared from a barbarous and heathen people. They did not, however, come so far as to us, for on reaching the edge of the opposite bank of the stream they came to a standstill and ceased shouting. Our anxiety was not at an end, however, because we were afraid that their barbarity might inspire some attack upon us; and we kept watch with a lighted lantern until the day broke.

29*th.*—In the morning we learned the reason why the *tahuas* had set up such a yelling the night before, which was that the invalid had suffered so severe a paroxysm that they expected he would die on their hands there and then[1]. In the evening we stood sentinel till midnight, but left the lantern alight.

30*th.*—At ten in the morning the boy called Mayoro came in from the pathway saying he had heard the Chief of the *Arahero* side[2] say that the heathen of *Tayarapu* would come against us so soon as the *arii* should die.

We kept watch at night-time until 12: and then, leaving the lantern alight, we lay down till four in the morning.

[1] *Cf.* Ellis [Bibl. no. 36, vol. 1, pp. 526–9].

[2] *Araheru* is the extension of Tautira south-eastward of the point.

31*st.*—At twelve, noon, the sick *arii* appeared at our hospice with four bearers who were carrying him on his own couch for a litter, and accompanied by an aged Chief, his spokesman. We welcomed the invalid with many marks of our affection and goodwill. The old Chief and spokesman asked Fr. Geronimo, saying "Are ye enangered against Vehiatua?" (for so he called the invalid). The *Padre* answered him "No!" for that Vehiatua was "our good friend"; and, turning to Vehiatua, and taking him by the hands, the *Padre* said to him in his language "*O au tayo maytay no Vehiatua: o è tayo maytay no Pare Geronimo*[1]." This was to say "I am Vehiatua's good friend: and thou the good friend of *Padre Geronimo.*" The invalid answered "*Maytay gui a te*[2]," which was to say "Very well, that is understood."

After this the Interpreter spoke to him and told him that we already knew that his "henchmen had killed a man from the *Ohatutira* gully, and that they were wanting to kill [sacrifice] others for thy health. We have also been twice warned that if thou diest, thy vassals of *Tayarapu* will assault us. All this," continued the Interpreter, "obliges us not to go out of our house, and to keep our arms in readiness to defend ourselves with in case thy people should come to do us injury. Thou mayest know," he said further "that what thou doest in causing innocent people to be slain is very wicked: those of Lima do not so," etc. And after having thus decried, and reproached him for, his acts and evil intentions, the invalid remarked (without replying to the Interpreter's rebukes) that he did not wish us to go away to Lima when the ship should come, but to remain at *Ohatutira.* To this was made answer: "If thou wilt go on having people killed, we shall undoubtedly return

[1] *O au taio maitai no Vehiatua: oe taio maitai no Pare Heronimo.*

[2] *Maitai: oia ite.*

to Lima when the ship comes, etc.; but if thou shouldst mend thy ways we will remain as thou askest of us." He made no reply.

His bearers lifted him up and conveyed him back to his house on the other side of the stream, from whence they had brought him.

1st of August.—At four o'clock in the afternoon Fr. Geronimo started out from the hospice, accompanied by the Interpreter, with two objects: the first to visit the invalid, and the second to go to the *marae* of the said invalid and see the bodies of two dead persons there—father and son—whom the *tahuas* of the district of *Ohitia*[1] had brought in two canoes, about midday, accompanied by a lot of other ones in which a great number of people had taken passage to come and visit the *arii*. We crossed the river in two canoes and at once found ourselves before the invalid, who was taking the air on the brink of the stream beneath and in the shade of a tree, but very comfortably settled on his own couch in the company of the Chief his spokesman and some attendants, of whom one was employed in killing the lice about his head. We spoke affectionately to him, and made him understand how greatly we regretted his illness. He was in a high fever, very broken down and failing in strength.

Our visit to the invalid being paid we recrossed the stream and edged round by a devious way towards the *marae* in order not to be noticed by the heathen, as they viewed us with some distrust. We got near to the *marae* and found, slung on a long pole, a basket or frail made of palm leaves neatly plaited, inside of which the corpse of the son was enclosed, who, to judge by the length of his body, might be ten or twelve years of age. We passed on a little farther and came upon the three *tahuas* who had brought

[1] *O Hitiaa*—near to, but not within, Vehiatua's dominions.

the sacrificed boy in their canoe, whom, it was said, the *tahuas* had killed just before landing. Then, without stopping or speaking to them, we arrived close to the sea-beach and saw a canoe coming along to land the body of the father who had been sacrificed. But, although we wished to wait for the canoe in order to see the corpse, we at once restrained our curiosity, because we noticed that a great multitude of the heathen were collecting at the landing-place, without doubt to see the defunct; and as they were wary of us, yet seemed to have no idea that we had gone there purposely, we pretended not to know anything about the dead, and without halting took the same path that the numerous crowd of barbarians was approaching by. One of them who was walking in front of all the rest was a heathen who was a great friend and intimate of ours, and he asked us from whence had we come. We answered him that we had come from the *Arahero* side (for in point of truth we had passed that way); and then, without waiting, we passed through the midst of that so numerous crowd and walked on towards our hospice. The sun was already set and it was very nearly time to ring the *Avemarias*, which we sounded with the bell as soon as we reached our house. We kept watch all night with the lantern alight.

2nd.—In the morning the same *tahuas* took up the bodies and carried them away to the district of *Etahuri*[1] to offer them up to their false god as a sacrifice for the health of the *arii*, in the *marae* of that district which is dedicated for the purpose and where all those sacrificed are kept, and none besides.

According to what the Interpreter, who has been to

[1] *Atehuru*, on the W. side of Tahiti Nui, now partitioned into *Punaauia* and *Paea*. The *marae* alluded to appears to have been the *Marae Taputapuatea* at *Punaauia*: whence the stone bowl was obtained by the Interpreter. *Cf.* p. 333, note 2.

that *marae*, tells us, the number of victims these savage and inhuman people sacrifice in this way is large, for the place is full of bones.

3rd.—They stole two hens from us.

6th.—We were awakened before daybreak by a loud shouting on the part of the *tahuas* who were watching by the invalid. We listened attentively to the cries, and having reason to think that the *arii* was now at the point of death, we got up. Shortly after we were afoot a servant of the *arii's* came running to the hospice, and called for the Interpreter, to tell him that Vehiatua had just expired, and that the mother wanted him to go across to her house immediately. The Interpreter hurried off at once, and on reaching the house of him whom he accounted already dead he perceived that there was yet some slight movement, but it was the last, and with that the *arii* ended his life. The Interpreter came back to the hospice to hear mass, as it was the day of the Transfiguration of Our Lord.

Scarcely was mass over when they warned us, saying that a thief had broken through the fence of our hen-yard. The Interpreter set off running on the instant in pursuit of the thief, and the latter, as he was being overtaken, dropped one hen he had stolen but continued his flight. This audacious thief was the same who, on the voyage last past of the Frigate, had struck a sailor with a stone and wounded him in the head so severely that his life was endangered and he was given the viaticum, and also the holy oil[1].

The mother of the deceased *arii* promptly heard of the pilfering heathen's effrontery, and, remembering the threats that those barbarian heathen, her subjects in the district of *Tayarapu*, had uttered against us, to the effect that they would come and plunder us if the *arii*, her son, should die, she there and then sent her other son, who was now to

[1] *Cf.* pp. 143–4 and 290.

succeed as *arii*, to our hospice, to stay with us; so that if the people should come against us they would be deterred by his presence. This little lad[1] arrived at the door of the hospice calling to Fr. Geronimo to let him in; and, having entered, told us to load the muskets and remained inside with us.

The afflicted woman also directed all her servants, and others, to come across to our side [of the stream] and climb the trees nearest the house, and station themselves in them to keep watch. The servants obeyed implicitly. Those barbarians did not put in an appearance, thank God! for they strike fear [even] into one of themselves.

At 9 in the morning Fr. Geronimo went forth from the hospice in company with the Interpreter, to view the deceased *arii*, and to offer our condolences to his afflicted mother at the same time. We arrived at the spot where they had placed him, outside his house, that all his subjects might look upon him with due freedom. There was already such a throng of heathen who had collected that they had disposed themselves in a wide and broad ring within which the corpse rested, and his disconsolate mother also was weeping and shedding unflinchingly the blood that issued from her head, which she was puncturing with a shark's tooth.

We stepped within the circle, and the moment that blood-besmeared and forlorn woman saw us she came forward to meet us, uttering plaints that we had not given any medicine to her son the day before[2], for his recovery. We made no retort to this, but explained to her that we were sorry for his death; and then we passed over towards the place where the body was laid out, while the woman went on with her wailing as she paced about in the midst of the

[1] See p. 331, note 2. The *padres* here term him a *muchachillo*—little lad or mite. He was from eight to ten years of age at this date.

[2] As to that matter *cf.* Máximo's diary.

ring. The corpse lay beneath an awning stretched across a pair of canoes, and was covered with lengths of native cloth striped in various colours. The head was decorated with some black feathers fixed above the forehead like a crown: the arms were placed across the breast with a white cloth. Four attendants stood round the head of the bier, and one of them was fanning him with a sprig of the ginger plant.

The throng of people sat in deep silence: all that one heard was the flood of that inconsolable mother's doleful weeping. On this account we took an opportunity to step out of the circle when the woman's back was turned to us, intending to pass behind her house and so get away home to the hospice. But when she noticed that we were leaving without saying anything [more] to her she came forward to intercept us and broke through the ring of people. And on our asking her whither she was going, she replied that she would go to our house to seek consolation. Hearing this we urged her not to quit all the people at such a moment, and promised that the Interpreter should presently return there for her satisfaction; and we got the shark's tooth, with which she was puncturing her head, away from her. The Interpreter went back to her [a little later] and induced her to wash off the blood that she had smeared all over her body, and left her composed, and somewhat assuaged of her grief.

About midday the heathen from the district of *Ahuy*[1] arrived, armed with sticks, and proclaiming war against those of *Ohatutira*, with loud shouts: while they rushed at a great rate towards the awning under which the body of the deceased *arii* was lying. The people who composed the circle and were watching over the deceased heard the other's yells, and, seeing that they came armed, forsook

[1] See p. 326, note 1.

their station and dashed over to the other side of the river to fetch their own weapons. But the Chief of the others, who happened to be present, did not move, and, seeing that his people were coming armed to make war on those of *Ohatutira*, he walked forward to meet them with a plantain sucker in his hand (which is their sign that they do not want war, but are asking for peace); and with that they halted awhile to listen to their Chief who told them that those of *Ohatutira* were not for fighting. Thereupon they resumed their route, shouting and running until they reached the spot where the deceased was, and after having proceeded three times round it at a run they stopped still and all uttered together one single word at the top of their voices. We did not catch the meaning of the word, but we at once concluded that it was to proclaim peace, because the *Ohatutira* people, and the rest [assembled] from other districts, immediately re-crossed the stream and joined the party from *Ahuy*. We were unable to make out the reason these latter had for declaring war against the others[1].

7th.—In the morning, the people of the district of *Ohatutira*, learning that many of those of *Tayarapu* were approaching by sea, and fearing that they were coming to wage war against them, took to their arms and stationed themselves at the landing-place. The others arrived at nine o'clock, but with peaceful intent; and with that the *Ohatutira* people quitted their arms and joined in with the rest and all walked together to the place where the deceased *arii* was lying.

10*th.*—Those belonging to the district of *Guayautea*[2] arrived, to view the deceased.

[1] This rather singular incident may have been a ceremonial feint or assault connected with mourning the death of a great Chief. *Cf.* Ellis *loc. cit.*, and Moerenhout [Bibl. no. 73] vol. 1, p. 544.

[2] *Vaiaotea* and *Mataoae* are districts on the west side of *Taiarapu*.

13*th.*—The people of the district of *Mataoaè* came, bringing provisions for their own *arii* who had come over to this district the moment he knew that the *arii* Vehiatua had died.

Those of the *Matavay*[1] district did the same for their *arii.*

18*th.*—They took a man's life in the district of *Guayary*[2], and carried him to that of *Atahuru*; there they sacrificed him to their false god Teatua in the *marae* where all such victims rest; and that made four whom these barbarian and inhuman heathens have sacrificed—three before the *arii* died, and one since his death.

11*th of September.*—In the morning *Padre* Narciso, the Interpreter, and the little lad, brother of the deceased *arii*, accompanied by his step-father Titorea and a goodish number of people, climbed an ascent there is near-by the harbour in order to make ready one of the palms that grow on the crest of the hill[3], and fix a flag on it (which we made out of a strip of native cloth of a good length and width, whereon we figured the arms of our King of Spain with other strips of cloth coloured dark red, yellow and blue). This was to serve the Frigate as a mark for the harbour, and a token of our being alive.

16*th of October.*—People arrived very early in the morning from the districts of *Tayarapu*, *Araheru*, and *Ahuy*, for the proclamation of the new *arii.* The gathering was a large one. The *Tayarapu* party and the other Chiefs from

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[1] *Matavai* is Point Venus in *Arue*—where the *Endeavour* lay.

[2] See p. 320, note 1.

[3] See the chart, p. 120. Only two palms are there shown, but there are many more, said to have originally been planted at Purahi's bidding. According to my informant the hill is called Moua Raha; but Máximo names it Tahua Reva.

other districts assembled together inside a house belonging to the *arii*, in the presence of the little lad whom they were about to proclaim as their lawful King under the name of *Arii*. The assembly and speechifying lasted a good while, and when the conclave was over they all started off to the great *marae* which stands on the sea-front, where drums were beating. We did not see the ceremonies they enacted in the *marae*; because we could not, beknown to so numerous a gathering, leave our house.

The feast or banquet they had, on the Proclamation ceremonies being concluded, consisted in eating twelve hogs that the cooks roasted that morning in the open. When the time came to begin the guests were so numerous that, there being no order observed nor pre-arrangement, they got annoyed while the viands were being portioned out, and the banquet came to a pause in the midst of such a clamour that more blows than meat were served to the bare backs of the guests. But no one who succeeded in grabbing any would give up his prize, in spite of the hard knocks he got. So that, at last, nothing more of the meat was left, although the hogs were still half raw; because after taking out the entrails they roast them whole.

These heathen have no vessels of any kind to cook their food in; and, when they wish to eat anything cooked, what they do is to scoop out a hole [in the ground], place some dry fire-wood into it, and a good lot of stones about the size of one's fist on top; then they set fire to the wood that the stones may get heated. While the pebbles are heating they wrap up their eatables in plantain leaves, or leaves of other trees; and when the stones are hot and the wood all aglow they take out the middle portion of the embers and stones from the pit, place the food in it, and lay the rest of the stones and red-hot embers back on the top of it; after which they cover it well over with earth so that the heat shall not escape. Then they allow the food to stop thus

for such time as they know by experience is requisite for it to become cooked[1].

They do not put salt in their food, because they have none: what they do at their meals is to have a bowl full of sea water by them into which from time to time they dip their hand and with it get some of the water into their mouths by sucking their fingers[2].

30*th.*—In the morning the Frigate hove in sight; and on the

2*nd of November*,—anchored in the harbour of *Ohatutira*.

3*rd.*—Came right into the harbour.

8*th.*—At daybreak the heathen from *Tayarapu* arrived armed, to defend themselves against the district of *Ahuy* whose people had set out to make war upon them; but no fight took place and they made peace instead, because we told the *Ohatutira* party that the Frigate would be angry and would kill them all off with her cannon if they went to war. The two parties approached one another and agreed for peace; two roast hogs were consumed, and they went away.

12*th November.*—The Frigate sailed for the port of El Callao.

FR. GERONIMO CLOTA.

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 83–4 and 279–80. [2] *Cf.* p. 281.

Remarks.

[A stage in the history of the *Aguila's* expeditions had now been reached when the parts played in their promotion by Don Manuel de Amat and the Bailio Fray Don Julian de Arriaga were drawing to a close. The former—still a bachelor at seventy-one—was beginning to feel the burden of years, and the prolonged strain of his official responsibilities during fourteen years' troublous times as Viceroy. He had more than once intimated his wish for retirement, to which the king now somewhat tardily acceded in terms of Arriaga's despatch which next follows (p. 351), wherein the Viceroy was notified of the appointment of a successor. Before that successor reached Peru, however, Arriaga himself died. So that three important occurrences bearing upon this history ensued within the same year 1776; besides the final return of the *Aguila* to El Callao. They were (1) the appointment of Don José Gálvez as Minister for the Indies in succession to Arriaga (whose death took place at El Pardo, near Madrid, on February the 26th), (2) the arrival and installation at Lima of the new Viceroy of Peru, Don Manuel de Guirior, on July the 17th, and (3) Amat's final departure for Old Spain on the 4th of December. As a consequence of the first and second of these events Amat's despatch (no. 1189) announcing the *Aguila's* last return from Tahiti and the collapse of her mission there, under cover of which he enclosed Commander de Lángara's Report, was received by Gálvez instead of Arriaga, and was acknowledged by him to Guirior instead of to Amat.

Gálvez was a clear-headed, far-seeing and just man, and a very able lawyer. In his younger days he had served at the Spanish embassy in Paris, whence he was re-called by Grimaldi to be his confidential secretary. Being appointed a member of the Council of the Indies in 1764 he afterwards filled the difficult position of *Visitador General* in Mexico with tact and distinction (1771–4), thus gaining a thorough insight into colonial affairs; and not long after his elevation to the Ministry the King created him Marqués de la Sonora.

It is difficult to arrange the documents corresponding here with these changes, into intelligible chronological order, owing to the lapse of time occupied in their transit between Europe and America, and to the delay which necessarily took place in carrying the change of Viceroys into effect. Hence these explanatory remarks.—ED.]

DESPATCH

[from the Secretary of State for the Indies to Don Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of Peru].

The King having been pleased to relieve you of your office as Viceroy in order that you may be able to return to Spain and continue your military service: and His Majesty having nominated Lt Genl Don Manuel de Guirior, of the Royal Navy, at present Viceroy of Sta Fée, to succeed you in the position, I acquaint Your Excellency therewith, by His Majesty's command, in order that you may make your arrangements accordingly, and be in a position to proceed on your journey when your successor above mentioned shall have arrived at your capital.

May God grant &c. El Pardo: 10th February, 1775.

JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

To D^{n} Manuel de Amat.

DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 1156.

Most Excellent Señor,

I have just received Your Excellency's despatch dated the 10th of February of the present year in which, by the King's Command, I am informed that His Majesty has been pleased to relieve me of the charge of this Vice-kingdom, in order that I may return to Spain and resume my military service, and that he has nominated as my successor in office D^{n} Manuel Guirior, Lt Genl in the Royal Navy, the present Viceroy of *Santa Fée*; so that

I may set about making such arrangements as may be necessary for enabling me to proceed on my journey, when my successor above mentioned shall have arrived at this Capital.

I offer my most dutiful thanks to Your Excellency for all these dispositions, in the hope that you will be so good as to represent my gratitude at the feet of His Majesty, whose sovereign wishes I am ready at once to execute—regretting only the delay which the lengthy nature of the journey my most worthy successor will have to make must involve.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years. Lima: the 3rd of October, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble and obedient Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

The most Exc^{t} Señor
B^{o} Fr. D^{n} Julian de Arriaga.

DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru, to Don Josef Gálvez, Secretary of State for the Indies in succession to Don Julian de Arriaga].

Most Illustrious Señor,

My dear Sir:—The intimation of your Most Illustrious Lordship's appointment to the Secretaryship of the Department of the Indies reached this capital at the same time as the announcement of the demise of the Most Excellent S^{or} B^{o} Fr. Julian de Arriaga, who filled it; and only the choice of a successor in the person of your Most Illustrious Lordship, who have already given such eminent proofs of your distinguished talent and zeal for

His Majesty's Service and the public weal, could temper the sorrow felt for the loss of so great a Minister.

I beg to felicitate your Most Illustrious Lordship on your promotion, wishing you all good fortune for the prosperity of the Monarchy, pending my being in a position to do so in person if God should grant me grace to reach Spain in the ship of war *El Peruano*, which is to sail from the port of El Callao in November of the present year.

May our Lord preserve your Most Ills Lòrdship many years. Lima: 13th of August, 1776.

Most Illustrious Señor,

Your most affectionate and faithful Servant kisses your Mt Ills Lordship's hand.

MANUEL DE AMAT.

The Most Ills Sor Dn Josef Galvez.

[End of the Second Voyage.]

DESPATCHES AND COMMANDER'S REPORT

(with Enclosures)

TELLING OF THE *AGUILA'S* THIRD VOYAGE

TO TAHITI,

1775–6:

FOLLOWED BY

SUNDRY CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO IT

AND THE ABANDONMENT OF THE MISSION.

DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 1161.

Most Excellent Señor,

Reporting that H.M.'s Frigate named the *Aguila* has sailed from the Port of El Callao, bound for the Island of Otaheiti, to promote friendly intercourse in pursuance of the Royal Command cited.

With a view to promote friendly intercourse with the Indians of the Island of *Otaheite* and those lying near to it, as Your Excellency instructed me to do, by Royal Command[1] dated the 26th of October, 1773, I set about having His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila* got ready; and, in effect, she sailed for her destination on the 27th of September last past under the command of Don Juan[2] de Langara, a Senior Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, taking with her the supplies enumerated in the accompanying invoice, intended for the maintenance and personal use of the two Franciscan missionary devotees[3] who stayed over in the Island from the previous voyage, and the marine accompanying them as Interpreter.

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[1] See vol. I, pp. 345–6.

[2] "Juan" is here a noteworthy error for 'Cayetano.' One may scarcely believe that this slip arose from the Viceroy's dictation. More likely it originated with the scribe who wrote out the fair copies in the Chancellery, and was not noticed by the Viceroy when he signed them, though this too would have been a remarkable oversight. It occurs again in the next despatch (no. 1189), but only in recapitulation of the present one. It is not met with anywhere else in the Spanish documents; and we have Don Cayetano's own signature to his Report and other correspondence in proof of his actual name and identity. On this point see also the INTRODUCTION, vol. I, p. lx.

[3] *Recoletos*, members of the strict Observantine branch of the Franciscan Order.

As, of the four Indians [here], José Puhoro was the only one who signified a wish to return to his native country, I also caused him to be conveyed back there, furnished with some tools for carpentering—an occupation he was naturally inclined for, in addition to serving as a sailing-master, in which latter capacity he was regarded by his compatriots as very proficient.

The Frigate goes well equipped, refitted, and supplied with all things necessary for ensuring a successful issue to the voyage within a short space of time: which result I chiefly look for because of the practical knowledge already gained by her officers and a large part of the crew.

And in due course I shall submit a report of the results.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years. Lima, 8th October, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excellent Señor
B° Fr. D[n] Julian de Arriaga.

Enclosure.

Most Excellent Señor,

In pursuance of Orders issued by Your Excellency to this Department, requisitions have been executed for the supply of provisions and implements intended for the rationing and maintenance of the two missionary priests who, with the marine doing duty as Interpreter, were delegated to make converts at the Island of AMAT alias *Otaheti*, with likewise some carpenter's tools and clothing selected as a gratuity for Jph. Puhoro, the native who is returning to that island.

The goods were all shipped in the King's Frigate the *Aguila*, which proceeded from the Port of El Callao on the 27th of September last past for the said Island; and they were received into the care of the Purser's Steward, Don Juan de Azas, who signed a Bill of Lading for the packages, on which all the contents are specified according to class.

Those intended for the aforesaid native were packed in his chest, himself being present, and the keys of it were handed into his keeping.

Copies of the Bill of Lading await the pleasure of His Excy the Director-General of Temporalities as to their disposal.

10th October, 1775.

Christobal Franzco Rodrîz.

INVOICE, STATEMENT, & PARTICULARS of Provisions and other stores put up by order of the Executive for the maintenance and rations of the missionary confessors at the Island of AMAT alias *Otaheti*, and the marine doing duty as Interpreter with them. The consignment has been shipped on board the King's Frigate the *Aguila* in the undermentioned packages, corresponding to the marks and numbers quoted in the margin, for delivery to the aforesaid, namely the Revd *Padres Fr.* Geronimo Clota and *Fr.* Narciso Gonzalez: the contents of each package being separately indicated—to wit,

✧
R M

Numbers	*Contents*	*Fanegas*[1]	*Arrobas*[1]	*lbs.*
1 ... 5	5 barrels of pallares, with	1		
6 ... 9	4 „ „ rice „		22	12·2
10 ... 12	3 „ „ quinua „		15	
13 ... 15	3 „ „ beans „	3		
16 ... 17	2 barrels of lentils „	2		
18	1 cask of garlic[2] „			
19	1 „ „ dried capsicums	2		
20 ... 22	3 barrels of chick peas „	3		
23 ... 24	2 „ „ wheaten flour		8	
25 ... 26	2 „ „ maize „	3		
27 ... 30 }	4 } „ „ cabin biscuit			
39 ... 40 }	2 } „		37	17

[1] See notes on pp. 95–6. [2] Quantity blank.

Numbers	*Contents*	*Fanegas*[1]	*Arrobas*[1]	*lbs.*
31 ... 38	8 barrels of hard biscuit with		51	14
41 ... 42	2 „ „ maize flour „	2		
43 ... 44	2 „ „ wheat „	2		
45	1 cask „ sugar „		8	
Case 46	1 barrel containing :—			
	lbs. of chocolate 61			
	ozs. „ cinnamon 8			
	ozs. „ cloves 2			
	lbs. „ pepper 4			
	ozs. „ saffron 4			
	col[d] cotton hdkchfs. 6			
47 ... 48	2 barrels of salt pork		11	
49 ... 50	2 „ „ butter		12	2
51 ... 54	4 boxes of tallow dips (800)			
55 ... 56	2 bottles of brandy			
57 ... 62	6 „ „ Nasca wine[2]			
63	1 bottle „ vinegar			
64 ... 67	4 bottles „ honey			
68	1 case of soap, with		1	,8
	ream of white paper 1			
	lbs. of snuff 4			
	„ „ white thread 3			
	cordovans 2			
	small shot 2			
69	1 jar of green olives			
70	1 small box of North country wax candles		1	7
71	1 case containing :—			
	lots of Bracamoro tobacco 50			
	dozens of Belduque knives 30			
	Chile sole leather ... 1			
	lbs. of snuff 4			
	prayer primers ... 2			

Tools.

Hand-saw	1	Files, assorted	6
Chisels	4	Gouges „	5
Shell augers	3	Chisels, mortice	3
Gimlets, medium sized ...	3	Rasps	3
do. small	8	Wooden clamp	1
Hammers, medium sized ...	2	Bench screw	1
Hammer, smith's, with haft	1	Bench vice, iron	1
Axes, Biscayan	8	Jack-plane	1
Adzes, handled	3	Plane irons and their stocks	3

[1] See notes on pp. 95–6.

[2] *Nasca* is a coast district in Peru, about lat. 15°, noted for its wine. Though rainless, says Ulloa [Bibl. no. 121], the vineyards there flourish without irrigation, owing to the natural moisture retained by the soil.

Pincers, iron	1	Trying-plane	1
Hinges do.	8	Wooden mallets	2
do. „ for doors ...	8	Level	1
Bolts	1	Square	1
Lock, with key belonging ...	1	Bench-stop	1
Padlocks, with keys ...	3	Latches	8
Brass compasses, pair of ...	1		

Numbers	*Contents*	*Fanegas*[1]	*Arrobas*[1]	*lbs.*
72	1 barrel of fine gunpowder		1	21
73	1 box of assorted nails		4	
	2 picks, miner's			
	2 light hoes			
74	1 leather pouch containing a wood-cutter's saw with its frame			
75 ... 84	10 small jars of oil well packed in sheep skins		6	

BEING in all eighty-four packages as shown in detail in the above invoice. Directorate-General of Temporalities: 26th September 1775.

Christobal Franz^co Rodrîz.

Note. The boxes of dips have been reduced to one, instead of four[2], and therefore the number of packages is eighty-one and no more: dated as above.

Rodrîz.

SUPPLIES handed over to Jph. Puhoro, native of the Island, which he takes back with him as a gift, by H. E.'s same order: to wit,

One wooden chest fitted with 2 locks and keys, and containing the following :—

Six new linen shirts. Two pieces of 5 ells each of similar linen.
Two pairs of breeches, and Two new jackets, of blue and red camlet.
Two pairs of stockings of best English wool.
Three pairs of garters or *guatanas* of coloured cotton.
Two pairs of leather shoes with double soles.
Three pairs of brass and steel buckles for the same; and another of knee-buckles for breeches.
Three new cotton handkerchiefs, one white and two picture ones; and a soft white cap.

[1] See notes on pp. 95–6.

[2] See *items* no. 51–54 above.

Tools he took.

1 wood-cutter's saw, frame and ties ; and also a hand-saw.
2 paring chisels with iron handles, and 2 large shell augers.
1 smaller auger, and 4 gimlets assorted.
1 iron claw-hammer with wooden handle.
4 Biscayan axes, one of them with its helve.
1 adze with wood handle: and 4 butt hinges.
4 hinges, a bolt, and an iron gate-lock and key.
2 padlocks and keys, and a large pair of iron compasses.
3 assorted gouges, a mortice chisel, and a carpenter's rule or square.
1 rasp, half-round, and a jack-plane, and smoothing plane.
1 bench-stop, 4 latches with their catches, and 4 weeding knives.
2 *arrobas* of nails, in assorted sizes.
10 dozen Belduque knives.
1 large shipwright's adze, and a new black vicuña-wool hat, with 2 Chile sole-leathers.
3 lots of beads, assorted, in three colours.
5 dozen tin-mounted stone buttons.

Lima: dated *ut supra.*

*Christobal Franz^co^*
Rodríz.

DESPATCH

[from the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru].

Information is to hand that the English were sending a Frigate to the Otaeytian islands[1]; and, as it will be well to take suitable precautions in regard to the objects she may have in view, I give Your Excellency warning of the fact, by the KING'S Command, in order that you may be duly aware of it and that this knowledge may serve you for guidance.

God grant, &c. San Lorenzo: 17th of November, 1775.

JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

To the Sor Viceroy of Peru.

[1] Though Capt. Cook did not finally quit Plymouth for his third and last circumnavigation until July the 12th, 1776, this voyage was officially projected and publicly discussed very soon after his return home from the second one on July the 30th, 1775 ; and the *Resolution* was undergoing active preparation for it some months before being

DESPATCH AND ENCLOSURE

REPORTING THE COMPLETION OF THE *AGUILA'S* THIRD VOYAGE TO TAHITI AND FINAL RETURN TO EL CALLAO:

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 1189.

Most Excellent Señor,

Reporting the return of H. M.'s Frigate the *Aguila* to the Port of El Callao, having sailed from thence bound for the Island of *Otaheite*; and relating the events of the voyage, with documents.

I announced to Your Excellency under date the 8th of October of the year last past, 1775, that His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila* had sailed from the Port of El Callao, under the command of Don Juan[1] de Langara, a senior lieutenant in the Royal Navy, for the purpose of cultivating friendly relations with the Indians of that and the adjacent Islands, in pursuance of instructions conveyed to me under the Royal Command of October 26th of '73.

I stated, further, that she carried with her the stores (as shown in the list I enclosed together with my despatch) [intended] for the use of the Franciscan missionary devotees[2] and the marine doing duty with them as Interpreter, who stayed over at that Island from the previous voyage.

The Frigate having now returned, all well, and come to an anchor in the Port of El Callao on the 17th of the

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re-commissioned at Deptford, where Capt. Cook again took command of her on February the 9th, 1776. As no other ship (except her consort, the *Discovery*) was despatched to Tahiti for several years, the information contained in the above despatch must be taken to relate to H.M.S. *Resolution*, under Capt. Cook, with the beginning of whose refit its date coincides.

[1] Should be Cayetano, not Juan. See p. 356, note 2.

[2] *Recoletos*. See p. 356, note 3.

present month, without meeting with any mishap, it has seemed to me proper to my duty that I should bring this to Your Excellency's knowledge in order that you may be pleased to apprise His Majesty thereof, believing that the information will be to his satisfaction.

The deposition[1] I enclose shows that, notwithstanding the measures I took to bring about the propagation of the Holy Gospel in that Island, it has not been possible to succeed in this very desirable object. The failure was due to the lukewarmness of the missionaries, who, terrorized by incidents of little weight that now and again happened, demanded of the Comandante with great insistence that he would convey them back with him to this capital; and this notwithstanding that that officer repeatedly urged them to remain.

But I believe, after all, that one should not despair of success, nor of gaining over the good-will of the Islanders; and that, should other men of more fervent and courageous spirit be brought into touch with them, they may yet be able to reap the benefits which these have allowed to miscarry.

In the same deposition we have convincing proof of the Island having been visited in the year '72 by two English vessels which, among other things, left two medals there bearing the bust of His Britannic Majesty George the Third, crowned with laurel, and on the obverse two ships among waves, with this motto—

RESOLUTION AVENTURÈ

These are the same that the said Comandante presented to me and I have the honour to pass to your Excellency's hands[2].

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[1] The attested copy of Lángara's Report, with its enclosures.

[2] For some particulars regarding this medal, and a Plate representing its two faces, see pp. 369–71; and also vol. I, p. 17, note 4.

The suspicion that that ambitious nation may be trying to form some settlement at the Island, which might exercise a prejudicial effect on the incontestable rights of our beloved Monarch, is thus confirmed: especially when we consider the notable advantages and not bad timber-trees the Island affords. Some specimens of the latter, of which particulars are given in the Note appended by the aforesaid Comandante to his Report, were brought by our Frigate; but it may be presumed that there are others of stouter proportions in parts of the interior or on other mountain slopes to which, for lack of time, our people did not penetrate. Among them there should be some adapted for replacing spars, which may easily be lost in so extended a voyage as this one.

I have always been of this opinion; and therefore it seems to me that a repetition of this voyage at frequent intervals will be indispensable, even if a permanent settlement [on the island] be not deemed necessary: in regard to which Your Excellency will be good enough to advise me what course will most accord with your pleasure.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years: Lima, 25th February, 1776.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most obedient, humble, and faithful Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Exc^{t} S^{or}
B^{o} Fr. D^{n} Julian de Arriaga.

Enclosure.—[Lieut. de Lángara's Report; with Correspondence between him and the missionary *Padres*, &c.]

Enclosure.

[REPORT, by Lt Commander Don CAYETANO DE LÁNGARA, of the Third Voyage of the Frigate *AGUILA* to Tahiti: addressed to the Viceroy of Peru [1].]

Most Excellent Señor,

IN pursuance of Your Excellency's august disposals, I put to sea on the afternoon of the 27th of September last past. Prospered by favourable winds I got sight of the first island, named *San Narciso*, at sunrise on the 23rd of October: at eight in the morning of the 25th, of that of *San Simon y Judas*: at six o'clock on the 26th, of that of *los Martires*: at one on the same day I sighted other land in the N.N.W. distant about four leagues, not hitherto known, which seemed to pourtray an island as insignificant in character and outline as those just mentioned [2]. I decided not to investigate it more closely, because I had need of all that was left of the daylight to see the isle of *San Quintin* by, so as to proceed in safety during the night and not waste time in a locality where, in these three voyages, new discoveries were always cropping up; and where no

[1] Translated from the official MS. in the *Archivo General de Indias* [Est. 112—Caj. 4—Leg. 11] after collation with the duplicate in [Est. 110—Caj. 3—Leg. 17]. The first of these is a copy made from the original in the Viceroy's possession four days after Lángara's return, and is certified by Josef de Garmendia. The other one is a similar copy made six days later, and attested in like manner.

[2] This island was *Marutea*, "one of the most dangerous in the archipelago" [Bibl. no. 1 *bis*]. It had already been discovered by Cook in the *Resolution* at daybreak on the 12th of August, 1773, "lying right ahead," he says, "distant about two miles; so that day-light advised us of our danger but just in time. It proved another of these low or half-drowned islands, or rather a large coral shoal of about twenty leagues in circuit. A very small part of it was land, which consisted of little islots ranged along the North side, and connected by sand banks and breakers. These islots were clothed with wood, among which the cocoa-nut trees were only distinguishable... the sea broke in a dreadful surf" [Bibl. no. 29].

That Lángara sighted *Marutea* shows that he followed a parallel some few miles to the northward of Boenechea's tracks, since the reef, which is submerged on its south-western side, does not extend farther south than 17° 6′.

amount of caution is enough to ensure safety, since, besides the currents met with there, one is usually without observations for the latitude. These islands being, moreover, mere enclosures or reefs of coarse rock without any soundings in their vicinity, and carrying only short strips of land on them of so little elevation that the chief thing visible is a few scattered coco-nut palms, it is but a very short step after getting warning of imminent danger, to inevitable shipwreck.

In the event I lay at a moderate distance from *San Quintin's* when the sun went down: on the 27th I was up with *Todos Santos* island: and on the 29th with *San Cristobal*, off which I hoisted the Spanish ensign and hove to to wait for some of its good-natured natives' canoes, in the hope of obtaining news of our clerics—as also of any foreign ships that might have passed that way, so as to be ready with such of the more important military preparations as the circumstances might seem to call for.

On learning, however, that this Frigate was the only one sighted during the year, and that the Revd *Padres* and other persons were well, I continued my course for AMAT'S Island, and came up with it at daybreak on the following morning, the 30th; making it out to be 5° farther West[1] than on the previous voyage. When within three leagues of the point or harbour of *Ohatutira*, I lay becalmed for two days with light airs from the south'ard. On the third day, which was the 1st of November, a breeze sprang up, and although contrary, I succeeded, by making the best of every tack, in getting close in with the land by the first

[1] This makes it appear that Andía y Varela's remarks about the log and the longitude, contained in his Journal (pp. 250–4 and 315), had been officially considered and given due weight. The position as determined by Hervé and Gayangos (p. 123) was long. 232° 28′ from Tenerife. Subtracting the 5° correction now made by Lángara we have 227° 28′, which corresponds to 149° 11′ W. from Greenwich, and differs by less than 2′ from the longitude of *Tautira* or *Vaitepiha* Bay, accepted at the present day as correct.

streak of dawn the next morning: intending to cast off the double canoe in which the native Titorea (step-father of the *arii* of this side of the island) and the Interpreter had come off on the day we first sighted the land. I stood in under the point of the reef to gain shelter from the fresh breeze and lumpy sea that hampered their return, and when I got there, which was about seven o'clock in the morning, the wind died down to a flat calm. I therefore hurried them away to the shore to send me out some big canoes to assist in towing; I brailed up everything, and with the help of the yawl and the launch, which I quickly got into the water, she forged ahead between the reefs. Just then a great number of canoes came along, and some of the largest of them took us in tow; but after a short spell at it the natives could no longer endure the toil of paddling, and abandoned their efforts.

In this situation, being very near to the anchorage, with the breeze, though adverse, quite faint and not reaching farther out than the shoal water, and seeing that the small craft could no longer keep way on the Frigate, I ran out several warps by dint of which and with constant and unflagging labour she was brought to her moorings by the afternoon of the 3rd of November, in the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*; not without the loss of a stream-anchor, however. This happened through the parting of a warp which had been bent on to the second stream-cable, just as the inboard end of the latter was coming home under the forecastle-head; the buoy drowning with it at the same time. I had the anchor swept for, afterwards, but in spite of the most active and thorough measures adopted, I did not succeed in finding it. Nor could the same expedient be put into practice for picking up the stream-cable, because in addition to the water being many fathoms deep the quality of the bottom, which is of coarse rough rocks, exposed us to the risk of spoiling our gear, or most

likely losing it, without affording a reasonable hope of recovering either object.

The remainder of the afternoon and part of the night were occupied in getting our other anchors in readiness so as to be promptly available as an additional security against such disasters as bad weather is wont to bring about: and in issuing proper orders for being ready on the beat of the réveillé[1] to set about the various jobs of watering ship, making good defects in the hull, and refitting the rigging.

On the morrow I addressed my first official letter to the Revd Franciscan *Padres*, as Y.E. will see by the copies of three several such that I enclose for you together with the two original replies to them. From these, when read together, Y.E. will find that the reasons which led me to decide not to disembark the provisions, and to bring away the four persons who had remained there from the previous expedition, are precisely those expressed in the Instructions[2] issued to me by Y.E. for my observance and guidance, under date September the 27th.

I also transmit to Y.E. statements on two matters to which I gave attention, namely, the one bearing upon the question of the island of Orayroa[3], and the other with reference to arranging that the wooden house which did duty as a hospice should receive proper care, and remain

[1] It was customary at that period, both in our own and in the Spanish navy, to beat the réveillé on the drum. Bugles did not come into vogue on board ship until much more recent times.

[2] It is unfortunate that these Instructions have not been met with, for they should prove interesting. Probably Lángara kept the original supplied to him and eventually delivered it to the Navy office at Madrid. If so, it may yet exist and would be at Simancas. The Viceroy's duplicate should be among the archives preserved at Lima. One is tempted to believe that His Excellency had an inkling of the *Padres'* timorous attitude, from what had already passed, and that he expected they might prove refractory as regards continuing their mission. *Cf.* Andía's Journal, p. 299.

[3] This is *o Ra'iroa* of the Tahitians, locally *Rangiroa*; it lies 180 miles N.E. from Tahiti and is the largest atoll of the Tuamotu archipelago, being 44 miles long and as much as 14 in width, at places. It is the *Vliegen Eyland* of Schouten: see pp. 187 note and 386.

available for use if wanted later on. The results of these measures are set forth at some length, for the sake of greater clearness.

In case it might help to throw light on the objects with which certain English frigates have visited and explored all these islands in great detail I pass to Y. E.'s hands two of the medals[1] they distributed, and which

[1] This medal is known as the "Cook commemorative medal, 1772"; and was supplied in some numbers to Capt. Cook early in that year, when he was about to sail on his second voyage of circumnavigation, "to be given to the natives of new-discovered countries." If the reader will turn to the Viceroy's Recital in vol. I of this work, page 17, note 4, he will find the main points about the medal stated, and an extract from the General Introduction written by Capt. Cook in his published narrative of the voyage [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, p. xxxiii], wherein he explains its purpose. See also Bibl. nos. 108, 108 *bis*, 111, 116. Some additional facts concerning it have come to light since vol. I went to press, and are now presented :—

At page 151 of his narrative Captain Cook records that on the 23rd of August, 1773, he had an interview at "Oaiti-piha Bay" with the prince "Waheatoua," and that "The present I made him consisted of a shirt, a sheet, a broad ax, spike-nails, knives, looking-glasses, *medals*, beads, &c." From Vehiatua's possession two medals came into the hands of Máximo Rodríguez, the *Padres'* Interpreter, while the frigate was away at El Callao in 1775; and on her return to *Tautira* he delivered them to Commander de Lángara. Lángara, as related in the text, presented them to the Viceroy Amat, who, as he observes in his covering despatch no. 1189, sent them forward to the Secretary of State—as in honour bound. That despatch was signed, however, only three days prior to Arriaga's death; so that it was Gálvez who received the medals (or one of them—for he only alludes to one) at Madrid, and passed it on to Grimaldi with the despatch, for the King's information.

With the obliging co-operation of the Exc^mo^ Señor Don Guillermo de Osma, and his friend Don Antonio Vives, who is a Fellow of the *Real Academia de la Historia* and one of Spain's most eminent numismatists, a search has been made for the purposes of this note in the hope of ascertaining whether the subsequent history of one or both of these medals could now be traced; but Señor Vives has reported that neither in the National Museum nor in H.M. King Alfonso's collection is any example of the Cook medal to be met with.

Two other instances of this medal being recovered from natives have come to my notice—in each case by a mere lucky chance, so that yet others may be on record. The first of these is described in an article contributed in the year 1825 by Dr R. P. Lesson, surgeon-naturalist of the *Coquille*, to the *Journal des Voyages* [Bibl. 111, pp. 249–51], with a line engraving of the obverse and reverse. This article contains the following passage:—

> "Pendant que nous étions au mouillage de *Borabora*, un insulaire vint avec mystère trouver M. Durville, un de nos officiers, et lui montra une médaille de Cook. On conçoit avec quel empressement il fit l'acquisition d'un objet que le nom et les

I was able to procure, in order that you may apply them to such purpose as you may deem they will serve.

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travaux de ce grand navigateur rendaient si intéressant. Elle était au pouvoir d'un nommé *Temena*, qui lui-même l'avait reçue d'un Français nommé *Joseph*, mort au service de *Pomaré* roi de *Taïti*. Cet Européen, en combattant contre ceux de *Borabora*, fut fait prisonnier et allait subir la loi du vainqueur et être mis à mort, quand *Temena* le réclama et lui sauva la vie. Par reconnaissance *Joseph* lui fit cadeau de sa médaille en lui recommandant de ne pas la montrer aux missionnaires, l'assurant que c'était un objet d'un grand prix et qui, par la suite, pouvait lui être très-utile. *Temena* n'hésitait pas à croire que *Joseph* l'avait lui-même volée à un légitime possesseur; du reste il la cacha soigneusement aux regards des missionnaires, et se montra très-exigeant envers M. Durville ; cependant l'offre de deux chemises et de deux mouchoirs neufs finirent [*sic*] par le séduire, et il livra sa médaille. Les missionnaires chargés par la société de Londres de recueillir tous ces objets, pour les envoyer au *Musée* anglais, furent très-surpris d'apprendre ce fait ; assurant que, depuis leur arrivée, malgré leurs soins et leurs recommandations, ils n'avaient encore pu s'en procurer."

Dr Lesson relates the same story in different words at p. 456 of the first volume of his narrative of the *Coquille's* voyage [Bibl. no. 62 *bis*] published in 1838 :—

"Un insulaire échangea à M. D'Urville, pour deux chemises et des toiles imprimées, une médaille laissée dans ces îles par Cook, et frappée en commemoration de son voyage ; cette médaille était depuis longtemps entre les mains d'un nommé *Temena*, qui l'avait reçue d'un Européen mort au service de *Pomaré*..... Cette médaille représentait l'effigie de Georges III, avec cette légende, roi de la Grande-Bretagne, de France, et d'Irlande, ayant sur l'envers deux vaisseaux avec leurs noms, la *Résolution* et *l'Aventure*, et ces mots : Partis d'Angleterre en Mars 1772."

The other instance is recorded in a letter addressed by Peter Dillon, of *Wailea* fame, to the editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, which was printed in the (Calcutta) *Government Gazette*, no. 594, of October 16, 1826, and contains the following laconic passage :—

"I got one of Captain Cook's medals at Port Resolution."

Dillon was at that time master of the brig *Calder* ; and Port Resolution (in Tanna, New Hebrides) had been but rarely visited since Cook's call there in August, 1774, when he received four natives on board, said to be *ariki*, and "made each of them a present of a hatchet, a spike-nail, and some *medals*" [Bibl. no. 29, vol. II, p. 71]. This Dillon was the same who discovered the first genuine clues to the fate of La Pérouse's two ships at Vanikoro, and wrote an account of that and other adventures which was published in two volumes, in English in 1829 and in French the next year.

The Plate opposite represents the obverse and reverse of the Cook medal, enlarged by half a diameter, and has been executed for the present work from the gold specimen in the British Museum, where are also a silver and a bronze or bronzed brass one. The Royal United Service Museum possesses an example in silver ; Admiral Prince Louis

Although the internal arrangements of ships of war do not admit of stowing much cargo, least of all when required to carry provisions and water for an extended voyage, I would have brought some logs of timber in the 'tween-decks and waist which might be serviceable for ships; but as no suitable spars could be found outside the confines of the *maraes*—areas held sacred by the natives—where they are among the chief adornments of the one place they hold in reverence, I judged it proper not to do violence to

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of Battenberg also has an original specimen in his collection, of which His Serene Highness is justly proud. There is a gilt electrotype copy (Hist. Med. 82) in the museum of the Royal Mint, and the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society has a photograph of the medal; but it is not in evidence in any form at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, nor in the Corporation of the City of London's collection of medals and tokens at the Guildhall. The Australian Museum at Sydney and the Dominion Museum at Wellington (N.Z.) each contain a silver specimen; and others exist elsewhere.

Mr A. H. Baldwin has obligingly placed at my disposal some facts to which his expert knowledge and keen observation lend special interest. He is able to vouch for six examples of this medal having come into the market during the past twelve years, two of which are now in New Zealand. Two of the six were in silver, one was gilt, and the other three were of brass. One of the last kind, now in Mr Baldwin's possession, exhibits certain flaws and other evidence he has noticed indicative of a second die having been used in striking the reverse of some of these medals, owing to the original die having cracked. Traces of gilt lacquer remain on some of the brass or bronze ones, and a hole carrying a screw-thread is drilled into the rim for the attachment of a suspensory loop.

It seems somewhat strange that little is known about the authorship of this medal; and equally little about its reputed author. The Master of the Mint has informed me that it was not struck there. Betts [Bibl. no. 104 *bis*] states that Barnett's signature **B·F** (Barnett *fecit*) "appears on medals of Captain Cook struck in 1776 (?)" and thinks "he may be the author of the series of medals signed B (attributed to Burch), one of which commemorates the sailing from England of the men-of-war *Resolution* and *Adventure*, 1772." Forrer [Bibl. no. 108] reflects the same view. The imprint on this medal *is* **B·F** however—and this would seem to favour Barnett as against Burch, who was a sculptor and gem engraver of renown, elected A.R.A. in 1770, and R.A. a year later. Barnett never received that distinction, but he exhibited medals and designs at the Academy from 1786 to 1824 [Bibl. no. 108 *bis*], and was seal engraver and medallist to the Prince of Wales during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

A query I contributed to the journal of the Society for Nautical Research [Bibl. no. 72] on the subject of the production of this medal elicited no response; and a search I made among Admiralty documents at the Record Office failed to bring any mention of it to light.

their sentiment; so that, restricting our felling operations to the hill topped with palms, and to the point of land, I brought such as were there met with possessing the several qualities set forth [against their names] in the accompanying Note.

The two head of large cattle, and ten lesser animals consisting of pigs, what with big and small, that the *Padres* had at H.M.'s charge, were brought on board for the reasons stated in my official letters; and have since been issued, on the scale laid down in the King's Regulations, to those drawing Navy rations. I also received from the *Padres* the overplus of their provisions, together with all their other effects, utensils, implements, arm-chests, and oratory, leaving behind only the house itself, and the benches, tables, bedsteads covered with leather, and such dunnage and other gear as was of no use[1].

On the 11th, although I was ready to sail, the weather did not allow me to put to sea, and the seamen and marines thus got a rest after the unusual fatigue they had undergone at the time of coming into harbour and during our detention there; but on the next day, the 12th of November, in spite of a scarcely perceptible breeze, I succeeded in getting away at half-past twelve, and cleared the E. end of the island in the course of the afternoon.

From thence, taking full advantage of such winds as were favourable, and doing the best I could when they were otherwise, I proceeded on my voyage; and I found that from a distance of 180 leagues as far as to 230 leagues from AMAT'S Island in the direction S.E. ¼ [2], corrected bearing, signs of land were observable: such as masses of

[1] Capt. Cook mentions finding "a bedstead, a table, a bench, some old hats, and other trifles" still in the house when he visited it in August 1777 [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 12]. *Cf.* extract from William Bayly's MS. journal printed at pp. 211–12, footnote; and also Ledyard's account [Bibl. no. 61] and Ellis's [Bibl. no. 107].

[2] The S. (or E.) point that should be here is lacking in the MS.

wrack and smaller sea-weed of the kinds that grow on rocks washed by the sea, leaves of the *uru* fruit, and a snag of the roots of some tree[1]. In these circumstances there was nothing for it but to lie to during several successive nights; and we even steered for a whole morning towards a certain cloud-bank to the southward that seemed to outline very high and far distant land. On becoming undeceived, however, I proceeded on my proper course, and on the 14th of December I had reached the 40th degree of latitude, and reckoned my position to be 30° East of the meridian from which I had taken my departure[2].

At that stage some slight check was perhaps a fair thing to expect, but the persistence of head winds from E. to S.E., strong, fresh, and moderate, and the frequent calms experienced in the intervals, occasioned me an uncommon set-back in spite of my having invariably kept on the most profitable tack; so that by the time my reckoning placed me 48° East of AMAT'S Island my latitude by observation was [as much as] 44° S. Two days later a seal was seen, when my latitude was 43° 22′ S. by reckoning, and my position 340 leagues W. of the middle of the Island of Chiloe—a distance so great as to make me believe he must have his home much nearer, unless he had been driven off the land by some gale[3].

When near the islands of Juan Fernandez it was found that the main-topmast was sprung, at a time when we were doing two knots at most with a smooth sea, about noon-day: this had not been noticed in the course of the regular daily inspections at sunrise and sunset. The carpenter went aloft and reported to me that, in point of fact, he found a shake in the spar a span's width above the lubber's

[1] The *Aguila* was passing in the neighbourhood of *Ra'ivavae* and *Rapa iti* at this time, well to leeward of the *Tuamotu*.

[2] *Viz.* the eastern extreme of Tahiti—long. 149° 7′ W.

[3] See p. 182, note 1, on seals and dugongs in the Central Pacific.

hole, caused by rot and decay. I immediately gave orders for it to be lowered far enough to take the strain at the sound part; and when it had been made secure in the usual way by means of slings and Portuguese lashings[1], etc., which was done in the course of a few hours, we trimmed sail again: hoisting the main-topsail with a reef in it.

Although it was my intention to sight one of those islands, the wind was too scant to permit of it: so that I was forced to depend on the coast-wrack for my whereabouts, and with this as a sea-mark I made the land at ten o'clock at night on the 14th in lat. 13° 23′, having 85 fathoms water, with a bottom of olive coloured ooze: from which position I steered for El Callao.

I was unable to make it out, however, owing to the dense haze that obscured the coast, and it was not until next day at about half-past four in the afternoon, when it began to clear up a little, that I succeeded in sighting it. So, as it was quite calm, I dropped a kedge anchor at seven o'clock in the evening in 42 fathoms, four miles W. of the Pachacama Rocks[2], hoping to get a breeze to sail in with on the morrow. Should it enable me to do so I shall proceed to the roadstead this afternoon:—the voyage having lasted 37 days, and the accumulated error of longitude amounting to 8° 30′ easterly.

The provisions were found to be of very good quality, and in accordance with the careful survey made of them. This has been the reason why we have not experienced any epidemic illness: the commonest ailments, although somewhat rare, being cases of tertian ague. Nevertheless, one of the ship's boys [sickened] a few days ago with internal inflammation.

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[1] A *Portuguesa* is the same thing as a "sheers lashing."

[2] The Pachacamac rocks lie off the mouth of the Lurin valley, a few leagues S. of El Callao. One of them is a typical sugar-loaf in form and makes a useful sea-mark.

I hasten to submit this report to Y.E. in obedience to my duty, and to the end that Y.E. may deign to advise me of any further services calling for punctual performance, and be pleased to confide their execution to my care.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency's life for many years.

On board H.M.'s Frigate the *Aguila*: the 16th of February, 1776.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

CAYETANO DE LANGARA.

The Most Exc^{t} S^{or}
Don Manuel de Amat.

The above is a copy of its original: Lima, 20th of February, 1776.

Josef de Garmendia.

[*Enclosures*, I—X, to wit:—

I. From the Commander of the Frigate, to the missionary *Padres* the Rev^{ds} Fr. Geronimo Clota and Fr. Narciso Gonzalez: Novr 4th.
II. From the *Padres* to the Commander: Novr 4th.
III. From the Commander to the *Padres*: Novr 5th.
IV. From the *Padres* to the Commander: Novr 6th.
V. From the Commander to the *Padres*: Novr 7th.
VI. Order issued by the Commander to Don Nicolas Toledo with reference to acquainting the Chiefs with the intended departure, and the care of the mission house.
VII. Report by Don Nicolas de Toledo to the Commander.
VIII. Order issued by the Commander to Don Nicolas Toledo to gather an account of the island *Ra'iroa*.
IX. Report by Don Nicolas de Toledo to the Commander.
X. Note and description of certain timbers carried in the Frigate to Lima.]

I

[Letter from the Commander of the Frigate, to the missionary *Padres*, the Rev^ds Fr. Gerónimo Clota and Fr. Narciso González.]

My dear Señores,

By direction of the Most Exc^t Señor D^n Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of these Dominions, I have brought provisions for your consumption and for the persons who were left with you on the previous voyage in the same interests. As my duty requires me to proceed to sea as soon as I shall have got the repairs I stand in need of off my hands, you will be good enough to let me know when you will be able to take delivery of the stores intended for you, and so expedite my return. May Our Lord preserve you many years.—On board H. M.'s Frigate *Aguila* at the harbour of *la Santissima Cruz de Ohatutira* the 4th of November, 1775.= Your most obedient Servant kisses your hands.

CAYETANO DE LANGARA.

The above is a copy of its original: Cayetano de Langara.

II

[Letter from the *Padres* to the Commander.]

The Señor Captain commanding the *Aguila*, Don Cayetano de Langara:—

My dear Señor,

We have received Your Honour's esteemed communication, and having noted its contents, we beg to say in reference thereto that we have definitely made up our minds to return to Lima, and consequently not to receive the provisions and other stores that have come in the Frigate.

Firstly: because, last year, when we took leave of Y.E.[1], we asked for help in the matter of a few men for our protection, being aware of the imminent risk to life we should have to face, and have encountered, in the

[1] The MS. has V.E. (Your Excellency); but the sense of the passage appears to indicate the late Comandante rather than the Viceroy. If the latter it should be S.E.—His Excellency.

midst of a barbarous and inhuman people such as these are. It was replied that the King had not so commanded, and that for a year [at any rate] we should have to live on the footing of apostles.

In these circumstances, failing a guard of militiamen to remain in our company—who in point of fact have not come—and the two baptised natives named Thomas Pautu and Manuel de Amat having forsaken us, we are left manifestly unprotected and in imminent danger of losing our lives, as befell other missionaries who perished in Manoa[1], where, though not actually murdered by the heathen, they were fain, when the situation called for it, to destroy themselves. Our Lord God in his most holy Law commands us not only not to take our own lives, but also not to expose ourselves to imminent risk of losing them.

That these people are inhuman and cruel is patent: for they slaughter innocent persons to provide a sacrifice before the altars of their sham god when the *tahuas* allege that he is angered against the *arii*. We have seen this actually put into practice, for during the illness of which the *arii* Vehiatua died they sacrificed four individuals, and of these only one belonged to that Chief's territories: the others being outsiders, but of this same island. As we are likewise aliens in our relation to them, we are at the same risk; and, if this alone be not enough to justify our return to Lima, the danger to which the *Padre* Fr. Narciso was exposed on one occasion should be a sufficient reason,—when he went to visit the *arii* at a small island near the district of *Taiarapu*. There, one of the *tahuas*, who say that Teatua enters into their bodies, confronted him with a good big stone in his hand, and had not a native named Taitoa, a henchman of the *arii's*, come to the rescue, he would have been killed or subjected to very serious violence.

There is a kind of sect among the natives of the island, whom they term *Arioi*; and which serves to prove their ferocity. The members or *Arioi* befriend each other sometimes with rolls of native cloth, or it may be pigs, or canoes, so that whenever an *Arioi* lets it be known that he needs one of these things, it has to be given. But it is an ordi-

[1] A full account of the Manoa tragedy, which occurred in 1766, was written by *Fr.* José Amich in his narrative of the toils and sufferings of Franciscan missionaries in the Cordillera: first printed at Paris in 1854 [Bibl. no. 3]. The author was the same Amich who accompanied Boenechea in the *Aguila's* first expedition to Tahiti and wrote the account printed at pp. 65–89 of the present volume.

nance or necessary condition [of their society] that they shall not have offspring. And hence, when any woman of them gives birth to a child, they take away its life so soon as it is born. Has any similar cruelty towards the natural affection of parents for their children been heard of, or seen, or read of in history? I do not think it: for although we read in Holy Writ, and of our faith believe, that there have been mothers who ate their children, it was through stress of the direst famine, suffered at the hands of a besieging enemy. But with these *Arioi* it is not for lack of victuals [that they kill their infants]: but through sheer greed for doing what is outrageous.

To say that they seem gentle, affable, well disposed, and very friendly, counts for nothing: they are gentle, affable, and friendly in proportion to the gifts you keep them supplied with. But, so soon as they receive no more, all their friendship is at an end and they leave you in the lurch, saying that you are ill friends with them; as we ourselves have experienced.

The affair that happened on the day when the *arii* died will serve as a crowning testimony that we are in real peril of our lives. A boy named Maioro, who was employed about the mission house and took service with us either from fancy, or, as is more likely, from interested motives, twice warned us that the *Taiarapu* people and those of *Araheru* had said that, so soon as Vehiatua should die, they would fall upon us and kill us, and plunder us of what was in the house. At this we prepared ourselves [against assault], not letting any natives enter other than those who were in the regular habit of coming and doing for us any little thing we told them to. And Vehiatua's mother, knowing that this report was well founded, gave us a hint to have our arms in readiness in order that the dread in which the people held these should restrain them from daring to attack us. At the same time, she directed some of her serving men to climb the trees nearest to our dwelling and do duty as scouts to give us warning of any alarm. The threat was indeed partly carried out; for, although they did not take our lives, they pillaged our hen-roost by breaking through the fence and taking as many fowls as they chose[1]. Now, this is the way it strikes

[1] See p. 344: a native, known to be of bad character, stole a pair of hens, one of which Máximo recovered. The latter does not even mention the incident in his diary.

me:—Will not this woman know the character of her own vassals, and penetrate their wiles? I believe she does! For if not, she would not have warned us to look to our arms, nor still less have posted sentries to give us notice of the people's approach. And what is more is that she sent her little son, who is now the *arii*, to station himself inside our house: no doubt because, in the event of an attack being made on us, they would desist on seeing the *arii* elect there.

For these reasons I believe that no person of impartial judgment, and possessing a Christian and pious heart, will refuse to understand that we are here at the real peril of our lives; and we therefore beg Your Honour to retain on board all the provisions and other effects that have come in the consignment, and to have the kindness to convey us back to Lima, where, with more leisure, we shall be able to report to His Excellency at greater length in conformity with the Diary that we have kept of all that has happened to us during the time [we have been here].

Your Honour will also pardon it if any expression lacking in respect towards your person have crept into this letter of reply: for it is no part of our mind to give offence to anyone either by word or in writing, and should merely be attributed to our lack of ability.

May Our Lord God preserve the life of Your Honour for many years, and thus we ever pray.—At the hospice of the harbour of *Ohatutira*: November 4th, 1775.=

Your affectionate and humble Chaplains,

FR. GERONIMO CLOTA,
FR. NARCISO GONZALEZ.

III

[From the Commander to the *Padres*.]

The Revd *Padres* Fr. Geronimo Clota, and Fr. Narciso Gonzalez:—

My dear Señores,

By the letter of the 4th of November, which I have received from you in reply to mine I addressed to you desiring to know when you might wish me to proceed to discharge the stores, I am made aware of the arguments

on which you found your resolve to abandon the task you had dedicated yourselves to.

That I may conform to the Instructions I hold from the Most Excellent Señor, Don Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of these Dominions, you must please to express clearly to me what progress may be looked for with these natives of the island of AMAT in regard to religion, and their subjection to God and our Sovereign, or, [on the other hand] the hopelessness of [procuring] their conversion [as the case may be].

Since the welfare, or perdition, of the souls of these natives will perhaps depend upon your report, even to the withholding from the holy Church of God that increase and multiplication of its faithful through the spread of the Gospel which we must believe would occasion happiness to many, I feel persuaded that you will bring to bear all the prudence and Christian spirit with which you were credited when these and many other considerations justly recommended your selection for this duty. For, whatever decision may be the issue of your report, it is on your opinions that it will be based.

His Majesty, whom God preserve, has expended immense sums on these three expeditions, and his Royal and pious intentions will cause still further amounts to be disbursed so long as the measures embarked upon assure the wished-for good result, or lead to those which, with the better knowledge gained, might be so applied as to crown the endeavour with success.

I hope that you will set forth your views with clearness, in order that I may take suitable measures to acquit myself of my duty with the punctuality demanded by so weighty a matter and hold myself free from responsibilities that may arise through your representations.

I remain, at your service, with the most sincere desire to be of use to you and that God may preserve you for many years.—On board the Frigate *Aguila*, at the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*: the 5th of November, 1775.= Your very affectionate Servant kisses your hands.

CAYETANO DE LANGARA.

The above is a copy of its original.

Cayetano de Langara.

IV

[From the *Padres* to the Commander.]

The Señor Captain commanding the *Aguila*, Don Cayetano de Langara:—

My dear Sir,

We are in receipt of your Honour's [communication] of the 5th of November and, after learning its contents, we beg to reply, with due respect, to what you ask of us: namely, that we should set forth with clearness the progress to be expected with the heathen of this Island of AMAT, in the matter of Religion and submission to God and our Sovereign,—or the hopelessness of converting them [as the case may be].

We state plainly, according to what we have seen and experienced in the space of a year during which we have lived among them, that at the present juncture and under the conditions obtaining among these heathen, no progress can be looked for in the matter of Religion and submission to God and our Sovereign, nor can any hope of their conversion be entertained: because these barbarian people live scattered about the country without forming themselves into organised village communities and pass their lives under no sort of discipline or control. They have no knowledge of Justice or subordination to authority: they are thieves, and audacious ones at that. They have a deeply rooted belief in their sham god whom they call *teatua*: in their errors they are blind to reason, in their customs inhuman, and in their sacrifices execrable. They are a people who allow offenders to go unpunished: yet take the lives of innocent persons.

In this unhappy condition are these Souls redeemed by the precious blood of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to enable them to be lifted out of so lamentable a state and placed on the way to salvation, no scheme or remedy is worth considering unless they can be made to live together in villages, and be brought under juridical control, so that Ministers of the Gospel could lighten their darkness by preaching the Holy Word and thus rescue them from the errors in which they are steeped.

And, for this, we consider that some years must necessarily elapse before [the labour of] Missionaries can bear any fruit: because it is an essential preliminary that those

who are to convert them should learn the language of the natives perfectly before they can preach to them, and that they draw up a catechism in the vernacular and get it into writing.

And lastly, the apostasy from our holy Catholic Faith in which the two natives Thomas Pautu and Manuel de Amat now live, after the many benefactions they received from our Sovereign: considering, moreover, the help they might have been to us, by the grace of God which denies nothing to any person for the sake of retaining him in the Christian state and the profession of our holy Faith, we are left with no hope whatever of converting these heathen; nor can we expect any progress from the point of view of Religion and submission to God and our Sovereign on the part of a people who have not received those benefits nor the grace of God through baptism.

Wherefore, if your Honour will do us the favour we ask, of conveying us back to Lima, we will afford the Lord Viceroy information on some things pertaining to this Island.

May God preserve your Honour's life for many years, and thus we ever pray.—At this hospice of *Ohatutira*: the 6th of November, 1775.=

Your most humble Chaplains,

Fr. Geronimo Clota,
Fr. Narciso Gonzalez.

V

[From the Commander to the *Padres*.]

The Revd *Padres* Fr. Geronimo Clota, and Fr. Narciso Gonzalez:—

My dear Señores,

In the face of all that you have represented under date the 6th of this month, when replying to my official letter of the 5th inst., and guided by the Instructions I hold, I have decided not to land the provisions; but to receive you on board, together with the two persons attending you, the one in the capacity of Interpreter and the other as serving-man, in order that you may all return to Lima, where you can answer for yourselves at greater length before the Higher Government.

It is my intention to proceed to sea as soon as I shall have finished watering ship (which I am now doing with all speed), shipped a launch-load of wood that I have ready on the beach, and put the Frigate into proper trim for encountering the hard weather down South[1]. You will accordingly hold yourselves in readiness for early notice, which will follow in a few days from now.

Bearing in mind the best interests of our Sovereign and the good of the State, it appears to me that if we leave the livestock behind, both greater and lesser kinds, serious mischances might result. For, being well fed, and but little used up by the natives of the Island, foreigners might some day supply themselves from this source, and refresh their needs incident to so extended a voyage. They would, at least, favour the opportunity for some privateering craft or merchantman to attempt to land goods on the South [American] coast, or harass the navigation of those Seas.

With the possibility before us of such mischief arising, and as a precaution against it, all the stock should be sent on board to be expended in rationing the crew, and for issue as diets to those on the sick-list. But I leave you free to make use of the fowls[2] as gifts to Opo, to her son the *arii* Vehiatua, to his step-father Titorea, and any other persons from whom you have received assistance or are on terms of good-fellowship. These presents and any others you can collect together in the shape of tools or implements, if there be any such remaining, or some from those now on board the ship, are to be given as an inducement to them to take good care of the hospice, in case H. M. should see fit to renew these expeditions.

I remain at your service, in the wish that Our Lord may preserve you for many years.—On board the Frigate *Aguila*, in the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*: the 7th of November, 1775.= Your most affectionate Servant kisses your hands.

CAYETANO DE LANGARA.

The above is a copy of its original.

Cayetano de Langara.

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[1] Although El Callao is nearly 6° nearer the equator than Tahiti it is necessary, for a sailing-ship, to reach to the southward of the trade wind belt in order to fall in with the westerly winds that prevail in that region, and there make good most of her easting.

[2] One cannot but discern a touch of sarcasm in Don Cayetano's bounty in his disposal of the *Padres'* hen-roost.

VI

[ORDER issued by the Commander of the Frigate, to Don Nicolas Toledo.]

To Señor Dⁿ Nicolas Toledo, junior Lieutenant in H. M.'s Navy:—

In consequence of reports submitted to me by the two clerics who were left here last voyage, with the Interpreter and a domestic, and in conformity with my Instructions from the Most Excᵗ Señor Don Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of these Southern Dominions, I have decided that they shall all embark [with us] and return to Lima where, with more leisure on their hands, they can report at length to the Higher Government.

And as the dwelling-house ought to remain under the best care possible in case H.M. should think proper to renew this Mission, in complying with the *Padres'* choice I desire you to bind the Interpreter on oath to translate faithfully and through him inform Opo, her little son the *arii* Vehiatua, and his step-father Titorea, that we are leaving the wooden house under their care, because the clerics and their associates are quitting them in order to report to the King, and return next year or the year after with fresh supplies. You will assure them that they all depart gratified by the good treatment they have met with and the friendly intercourse they have held with H.M.'s vassals, whose services he will at all times keep in mind, and will reward in accordance with what they may now pledge themselves to fulfil.

On board of H.M.'s Frigate the *Aguila*, at the harbour of *La Santissima Cruz de Ohatutira* in the Island of Otahiti: 9th November, 1775.=

CAYETANO DE LANGARA Y HUARTE.

VII

[EXECUTION of the foregoing ORDER.]

In obedience to Your Honour's instructions set forth in the foregoing Order, I proceeded ashore and explained, through the medium of the Interpreter Maximo Rodriguez, to the *arii* Tetaunaona, his mother Opo, and his step-father Titorea, that the purpose of the clerics' return to Lima

was to report to the King the friendliness and goodwill all the natives of the Island had shown towards them, particularly those just mentioned by name: and that, concerning this, we would revisit the Island within ten, or at the most twenty months, bringing with us fresh Clerics and other persons to remain here. The dwelling-house would be left at their disposal, and they were especially enjoined to see to its preservation. The tokens of concern shown by the three above mentioned, and by the rest of those present as well, baffle description; and, in proof of their good faith, they promised to repair whatever dilapidations the building might suffer through the bad condition of its woodwork. The *arii* Tetaunaona asked that the native Puhoro might stay with him among his following; and, on being consoled by the assurance I gave them of our future return, I did not detect in them the slightest trace of any lack of confidence.

Prior to the above related [colloquy] I administered an oath to the Interpreter Maximo Rodriguez to translate truly.

At *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*, the 10th of November, 1775.=

NICOLAS DE TOLEDO.

VIII

[ORDER issued by the Commander of the Frigate, to Don Nicolas de Toledo.]

To Señor D^{n} Nicolas Toledo, junior Lieutenant in H.M.'s Navy:—

I am informed that there are one or more natives at present about the beach at the harbour of *La sant^{ma} Cruz de Ohatutira*, who come from an island of which there is no previous record; and who, being drifted out of their course by a contrary wind while on a voyage to another island to barter their wares, managed to reach that of *Morea* or *Santo Domingo*, from whence they crossed over to this one to await an opportunity of getting back to their own country.

It would conduce to the best interests of H.M.'s service, if careful enquiry were made with a view to procure accurate information [about their island], in order that its existence and character may be brought to H.M.'s notice and he may take such action as he may deem most proper.

You will therefore take with you the Interpreter Maximo Rodriguez, to whom you will administer the oath and obligation to translate faithfully, and in furtherance of this Order you will proceed to examine into this very important question, and endeavour to verify the situation [of the island reported], making use of the rising or setting of the sun to know whether it lies to the right or left of either of those already known, and the leagues or number of days' sail it is distant from them: whether it is large, high, encircled by reefs, whether it possesses harbours like those of Otahiti, how it compares with other islands of those visited during our voyage (and if it is better than they let the circumstances that recommend it be made clear), whether it affords plenty of fresh water, wood, and crops for their sustenance, what goods or property serve them for barter with their neighbours or among themselves, what foreign ships have communicated with them and whether they came back again, left medals, founded plantations, a settlement, or trade relations, or made any promises; and, lastly, you will question them on any further points that may arise out of their replies and that you may deem of assistance in giving the truest and most scrupulously exact information to serve for guidance concerning the measures to which this enquiry may give origin.

On board of H.M.'s Frigate the *Aguila* at the harbour of *La Sant*^{ma} *Cruz de Ohatutira*, in the Island of Otahiti: 9th November, 1775.=

CAYETANO DE LANGARA Y HUARTE.

IX

[EXECUTION of the foregoing ORDER.]

In obedience to the foregoing Order I at once proceeded ashore, and after swearing the Interpreter Maximo Rodriguez to translate faithfully, I got the best information I could from the two natives of the island *Orayroa*[1], and,

[1] *O Ra'iroa* or *Rangiroa's* western extremity is in lat. 15° 5′ S., long. 147° 55′ W. But *cf.* pp. 187 (note), and 368 (note). Its form and physiography are described at length in Alex. Agassiz's important work on the *Coral Islands of the Tropical Pacific* [Bibl. no. 2], with many heliotype illustrations.

separately, from the resident of AMAT'S named Puhoro, who, having been there, and being the most skilful navigator of any among them, explained better its position and bearings.

From the general agreement in their replies to the questions I put to both parties I deduce the following:—

The situation in which the island *Orayroa* lies is roughly N.N.E. from *Matea*, distant thirty or forty leagues[1]: it is somewhat smaller than AMAT'S, its greatest length being from N.E. to S.W. It is very flat throughout, like *Todos Santos* island, and formed of strips of land of unequal extent, leaving in their midst a large lagoon girdled all round by reefs through which there are three passages. The one to the E. they name *Ohiria*, that on the N. *Otuaura*, and the other in the W. *Otihehere*[2]. There are some small bays along the patches of dry land having very little depth of water, and the bottom all rocky. Its population is very small in proportion to its area; and does not amount, by far, to as many as the Island of *Santo Domingo* which scarcely comprises a fourth part as much surface as does the one under description. There are springs of fresh water close to the sea, from which little streamlets flow out on to the beach. The houses are very small and scattered: their inhabitants are idolaters like those of Otahiti; and their principal *arii* is named Ohariva.

The sparseness of its population undoubtedly arises from the sterility of the soil, the entire produce consisting of a few coco-nut palms, some yams, and what they call *Eape*[3], which is another root resembling the yam. Fish is plentiful; but there are no fowls, nor any other quadruped but dogs of medium size, which they use as food. There are five kinds of trees of the taller sorts, out of which they construct their canoes after the fashion of those of AMAT'S Island. They have no wraps of bark cloth, nor any other

[1] The bearing quoted is correct; but the distance from *Makatea* to *Ra'iroa* is only 46 miles, while from Tahiti it is nearly 180 miles. The Spaniards' knowledge of *Makatea* was only hearsay. Andía believed that he had sighted it, but the position of his vessel at the time proved that he must have been deceived by cloud-banks: see pp. 239–40 and note 3.

[2] These names do not seem to agree with more modern ones.

[3] *Ape* is a large edible arum, *Colocasia macrorhiza*, Schott: not a yam. But Spanish writers have often applied the word *ñame* to *taro*, which *ape* resembles, as well as to yams. *Cf.* vol. I, p. 6.

stuffs, so they make their scanty garments of very fine matting. There are plenty of pearls, which the natives obtain and take away to other islands to exchange for feathers, bark cloth, and other things. These natives have no knowledge of any other island as large as, or larger than, AMAT'S: their people are similar in stature to those of the latter, but adopt a widely different style of puncturing their bodies, which is done in bands with very small blanks between them. Their language is the same, with very little difference in the words.

They relate only one visit of a ship like ours to their island: stating that she entered by the Eastern passage through the reef and anchored, but remained only one day. When the natives beheld her they retired into the bush: they attribute her sudden departure to nervousness on the part of the strangers; but there can be no doubt that it was caused by their not being able to continue at anchor there owing to the bad quality of the holding-ground. According to the two natives' story the vessel that visited their island was the same English frigate, which, after being at AMAT'S and others farther to the Westward, and lastly *Guaitahò*, called in at *Orayroa* on her return from the last named before anchoring at Otaheti a second time[1].

All the above account is the sum and substance of the replies to questions I put to the two natives of *Orayroa*, and to the AMAT man named Puhoro, in so far as they were in agreement. Having visited their island himself, the information I gained through his frankness leads me to believe that all their statements are true, as related to me at *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*: the 10th November, 1775.=

NICOLAS DE TOLEDO.

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[1] A mistaken view, for although the *Resolution*, coming from Vaitahu, did pass within some 28 miles of the eastern end of *Ra'iroa*, on April 20th, 1774, the tree-tops are not visible more than twelve miles. I can find no record of this alleged visit of a ship to the *Ra'iroa* lagoon; but Byron and Mouat passed near it in the *Dolphin* in 1765.

X

NOTE of the timbers carried on deck by the Frigate of war *Aguila* on H.M.'s account, and cut by the ship's carpenters at *Ohatutira* Harbour in the Island of AMAT.

Of *e toa*[1].

One spar 13 cubits long and 8½ inches thick at its middle third.

Another 11½ cubits long and 7 inches thick.

Another 10 cubits long and 6 inches thick.

33 small logs for axle-trees of gun-carriages: launches' and boats' floor timbers, and head and stern crotches.

Of *purau*[2].

Three curved pieces suitable for wale ends for similar small craft; for, although we have no experience with this wood, the natives rank it as good.

There are no timbers worth bringing from the outlying parts of this district: those reported on above were cut on the palm-topped hill and on *Ohatutira* Point[3].

On board H.M.'s Frigate *Aguila*: the 16th of February,

CAYETANO DE LANGARA.

OFFICE NOTE

[by the Secretary of State for the Indies].

Let this despatch[4] from the Viceroy Amat be passed to the Sor Marques de Grimaldi, and let the medal he mentions, of the British King, which was previously received, accompany it.

Signed 11 Sep^r^.

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[1] Iron-wood: *Casuarina equisetifolia*, Linn.

[2] *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, Linn.: similar to *mahu* of Cuba and Guiana.

[3] The Spaniards' researches into the timbers of Tahiti were very hurried and sketchy.

[4] *i.e.* no. 1189, covering Lángara's Report.

MINUTE

[from Don Josef Gálvez, Secretary of State for the Indies in succession to Don Julian de Arriaga, to the Marqués de Grimaldi, Minister of State].

Most Excellent Señor,

In the accompanying despatch no. 1189, dated the 25th of February of this year, the Viceroy of Peru submits an account of the news received from the Island of *Otaheti,* whence H. M.'s Frigate the *Aguila* has returned to the Port of El Callao ; and I forward it to Your Excellency by the King's command, in order that you may acquaint yourself with what has occurred there, and with the Viceroy's observations consequent thereon. There accompanies this also the medal the Viceroy enclosed in his despatch, and which proves that the Island has already been visited by English ships.

May God &c. S^{n} Ildefonso : 11th September, 1776.

[Joseph Galvez.]

To the Sor Marq^{s} de Grimaldi.

MINUTE

[in reply to the foregoing].

Most Illustrious Señor,

I have read the despatches Your Lordship forwarded to me with your minute of the 11th inst. and have acquainted myself accordingly with the latest proceedings at the Island of *Otaheti* in connection with the arrival there of H. M.'s Frigate the *Aguila.*

I return the papers to Your Lordship, as nothing occurs to me to say on the subject ; but I will keep the English

medal in case any occasion should some day arise for making use of this testimony.

May God keep Your Lordship my yrs. Sn Ildefonso: 24th September, 1776.

EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

To Sor Dn Jph. Galvez.

DESPATCH

[from Don Joseph Gálvez, Secretary of State for the Indies, to Don Manuel de Guirior[1], Viceroy of Peru].

Most Excellent Señor,

In his despatch no 1189, dated the 25th of February of this year, Your Excellency's predecessor in the command submitted particulars of the most recent information received from the Island of *Otaheti*, whence His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila* lately returned to the Port of El Callao; and by the documents included therewith, which were the official letters written by the Comandante of that vessel to the missionary clerics who were in those parts, together with their replies, the King has been made acquainted with the causes which have hindered the propagation of the Holy Gospel in those islands—of which, nevertheless, His Excellency did not lose hope of success through the friendly disposition of the natives, provided it might be possible to replace the Missionaries by fresh ones possessing more ardour of spirit, who should be capable of making good the opportunity the others had wasted by reason of their fears.

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[1] Guirior was a naval officer holding at this time the rank of "Teniente-General," equivalent to Vice-Admiral. His family belonged to Navarre. During his vice-regency Guirior was continually hampered by strained relations with the *Visitador General* Areche, which was not surprising, owing to the inquisitorial nature of the latter's office and the arrogance and bitterness with which its holder discharged his functions.

His Majesty has likewise learned, from the medal His Excellency enclosed, that the Island had been visited in the year '72 by two English ships which left that token in witness of their having been there: and use will be made of this whenever it may seem desirable.

May God preserve Your Excellency. Sⁿ Ildefonso: 25th September, 1776.

JOSEPH GALVEZ.

To Dⁿ Manˡ de Guirior.

Note.

[The following MEMORIAL was composed by the two missionary *Padres* during or after their return to Peru, and addressed to the Viceroy: in compliance—as would seem—with Lángara's hint that they should answer for themselves at Lima before the Higher Government. See his letter to them, *Enclosure* no. V, p. 382. Something has already been noted about the incapacity of these particular devotees for the task allotted to them (pp. 219–20). Whether they embarked on it willingly, or merely because they were bidden, does not appear. Still, read with their Diary and their former Representation to His Excellency (pp. 199–204), this *apologia* for their failure helps to pourtray them as a pair of timid, fretful, narrow-minded souls, pious no doubt, and not without virtues; yet totally unable to rise above the limitations of the monastic routine under which they had been trained, but not educated—moulded, but deprived of all mental elasticity. Their lack of initiative and resource, their blind intolerance of native manners and proclivities, their being (as the Viceroy put it) "terrorised by incidents of little weight" and devoid of the faculty for getting at the back of the native mind, made them quite unsuited to succeed as pioneer missionaries.

The translation is made from a contemporary copy preserved among the *Coleccion de Muñoz* MSS. in the archives of the *Real Academia de la Historia* [*tome* 66, ff. 212–3], which was transcribed from the original. It bears no date. The rather free use of capital initial letters in the MS. has been retained, but the word *Eri* as written has been corrected to *arii*.—ED.]

MEMORIAL

to the Most Excellent the Lord Viceroy of Peru.

Most Excellent Señor,

Fr. Geronimo Clota and *Fr.* Narziso Gonzales,—in accordance with their offer to Your Excellency contained in the replies given in answer to the official communications passed to them by Captain Don Cayetano de Langara on his arrival at the harbour of *la Santissima Cruz* at *Ohatutira* in the Island of Amat (but called by the natives *Otaheti*), copies of which are herewith, as well as the Diaries they kept of the more noteworthy occurrences that took place, and the variations of wind and weather that prevail at that island,—with due respect state:

JHAJ,—having passed the year 1774 at the above-said Island by Y. Excy's order in company with the natives Manuel and Thomas with the purpose, and in our own earnest desire, not only to root in them the Holy Catholic Faith which they received by Holy Baptism, but also to implant the Evangelical Doctrine in the Souls of those heathen who live in such large numbers blind to their errors and ignorant of the true Law of Jesu Christ,—it is meet that we report to Y. Excy concerning our proceedings.

We arrived in port, and on seeing so numerous a gathering of people welcome us with eagerness we became filled with satisfaction and promised ourselves the ability to produce some fruit in those blind souls by means of our labours and watchfulness.

But in a few short days our intentions were frustrated by the corruption that the Common Enemy sowed in the hearts of the Baptized Natives; for, forgetful alike of the benefit they received from the mighty hand of God and of

Y. Excy's favours, the one named Thomas reverted to his [original] Heathenism and spread discord of the gravest kind in the hearts of the Heathen [natives] of the Island, which was the cause of the two highest Chiefs becoming estranged from us, and distrustful of going on board the Frigate any more, to which they were only persuaded after many entreaties on the part of the officers.

We gave information about all this to Y. Excy, and made clear, at the same time, our suspicions that Manuel would do the same, because, although we endeavoured to keep a hold over him by gentleness and coaxing, he was very heedless and aberrant; so much so that he would not even come inside our house to eat, but pretended to have already had his meals with his father and other relations, of whom there was usually no lack there.

At last, on the 5th of February 1775, the said Manuel went off from our company on the pretext of visiting his Mother, whom he stated to be ill. Y. Excy may see the efforts we made to get him to come back in the accompanying Diary. Great was the pain and grief we felt at the Apostasy of these two Natives and Christians, in whom, next to God, we were founding the hope of securing some fruit amongst the Heathen of the Island. We expected that, if they had remained in company with us, they would have related marvels about the good and the great favours they had experienced at the hands of Y. Excy. We also presumed they would have told the Heathen that our motive in having gone to their land and in seeking to dwell therein was no other than to do good to them all—and other things of that sort; but not only did they not do this, but they gave them to understand the contrary, as we have indicated already above.

From the 22nd of the month of February we remained by ourselves, until the 5th of June, when the *arii*, moved by his bodily ills and by our entreaties, arrived. All that

we did for him that he might recover his health, as was everyone's wish, and whatsoever happened down to the day of his death, is entered in proper sequence in the Diary.

Y. Excy may perhaps remark that in relating the death of the *arii* and all that took place during those days, we have not made mention of having Baptized him; and it is a fact that we did not do so. And the reason is because he had no proper inclination to receive this Holy Sacrament. The frame of mind that a person must possess in order to receive Holy Baptism, if an adult, requires in the one case that he earnestly wish to receive it; and in the other case, supposing he be living in mortal sin, requires at the least that he feel more than common contrition and be instructed in the principal Mysteries of our holy Catholic Faith. The *arii* was not in this frame of mind, nor were we able to dispose him towards it, being unacquainted with his language. Neither was this possible through the medium of the Interpreter; because, although we gave him credit for some knowledge of the language adapted for ordinary intercourse with the Natives, he is not versed enough to prepare an adult Heathen and render him fit to receive Holy Baptism.

The maxim of our Ministry, as of every converter, was always to endeavour to set a good example, that those Heathen might understand and be convinced, by our works, that we were not like them in conduct; thus we never allowed any Women to enter our Hospice unless they were accompanied by the Mother of the *arii*, to whom we explained that they must come with all possible decency.

It was also a maxim of our conduct to gain the *arii's* friendship; and he took meals with us whenever he liked, during that short time when, being in good health, he stayed at *Ohatutira*. Nor were the relations we main-

tained with his mother any less [cordial]; and she, from the sympathy she felt for us, shielded us on several occasions, whether by words or actions, against the incessant annoyance the Heathen caused us. We also took Titorea, the *arii's* step-father, into our friendship. The little boy who, through the death of his brother Vehiatua, found himself the Chief of that and other districts (under the same title as his brother), we had almost constantly in our house: he ate with us, we taught him to make the sign of the cross and bless himself, we made him pronounce many times over the most sweet names of Jesus, and Maria, and other things pertaining to our Ministry.

That the Natives of the Island should keep in mind, and learn to cherish, our great Monarch and King of Spain, *DON CARLOS TERCERO*, whom God preserve, we fixed his picture on the front gable-end of the house. The Heathen used to come and ask "Who is that?" and we replied "Nuestro Rey de España" [Our King of Spain]; and that they might the better understand we told them "It is our great *arii* who will defend you against your enemies." They showed much satisfaction on hearing this, and (without rolling the R, because they pronounced it without stress) they repeated "*Rey Espanna.*"

Finally, when there was opportunity for condemning (though fruitlessly) such inhuman vices as they have of taking the life of Innocent ones, both adults and young persons, we made them understand that such things were not done at Lima nor in Spain; but that when any one committed any crime of that sort our great *arii* the King of Spain ordered them to be punished.

This, most Exc^{t} Señor, is the line of conduct we took, and the manner in which we laboured during the time we stayed at that Island: it is for Y. Exc^{y} to decide whatever may in your view seem to best lend itself to the service of Our Lord God, and of Our Catholic Monarch.=

Remarks.

[With the above document the history of the third and last stage of the *Aguila*'s Tahitian voyages is brought to a conclusion. Less than two years later, when the frigate had reached her twenty-fifth year of service, it was found expedient to sell her into private hands, as explained by the Viceroy Guirior in his despatch no. 280, which follows; and after this we hear of her no more. The course of political events in Europe had already placed Spain in a critical position for several years, especially through her embarrassing family alliance with the French king, whose Court was a centre of continual intrigue. A long period of misgovernment and corruption in her American possessions, in return for whose remittances of the "royal fifth" the Madrid Government did nothing beyond monopolising the appointment of officials and looking to the Colonies as a source of revenue, had resulted in depletion of the local treasure chests, which even the creation of the new, and invidious, post of *Visitador* proved powerless to stem. As a result of these and other factors in the national decadence at that period, in spite of King Carlos III's good intentions and many able and upright measures, and notwithstanding his reiterated command for the renewal of the Mission and settlement at Tahiti, this object was never carried out. The fundamental causes which underlay its failure were matters of general political history whose details are outside the scope of the present volumes; they may be studied by readers who wish, in such works as Lord Mahon's [Bibl. no. 66], Archdeacon Coxe's [Bibl. no. 33], General Mendiburu's [Bibl. no. 68], Ferrer del Rio's admirable *Historia del reinado de Carlos III en España* and others, including tome VII of Lavisse et Rambaud and certain of the writings of the late Major Martin Hume, which will readily occur to the student.—ED.]

Survey and Sale of the Aguila and her disappearance from official history.

DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 280.

My dear Sir,

Stating the reasons for which H.M.'s Frigate the *Aguila* has been sold, and touching the remittal of the proceeds, wherewith to build another vessel better suited for these Seas.

The Naval Commander-in-Chief in these Seas, Brigadier[1] Don Jph. de la Somaglia, lately drew my attention to the state of His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila*, belonging to this squadron, and explained that the Board of Survey considered it indispensably necessary that, before she could be pronounced fit to proceed on service wherever circumstances might call her, she should receive a thorough overhaul: either here at El Callao or else at Guayaquil, whichever port might offer the necessary facilities at the least expense.

The same Board, having deliberated with me on the point, I decided that she should be repaired here at El Callao; but that a contract should be made in Guayaquil for the necessary timber, which should be brought from thence in the *urca*[2] *Monserrate*: an arrangement the Royal Treasury should suffer least by.

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[1] The rank of *Brigadier* in the Spanish Navy corresponded to a Commodore's with us.

[2] An *urca* was a beamy, bluff-bowed and round-sterned vessel, of varying tonnage but large carrying capacity for her length, expressly designed for stowing cargo and navigating shoal waters—a flute or storeship. This particular *urca* belonged to the King's navy, and was long employed on the South American station.

This plan was accordingly adopted, with all the proper formalities; but when they set about stripping the vessel's planking the foremen-shipwrights and caulkers found that she was in need of more extensive repairs than had been calculated for. The Board of Survey represented this to me, and submitted a revised estimate drawn up by the officer who exercises the functions of Constructor, which mounted up to a sum of 64,150 *pesos* and 1 *real* for expenses[1].

This caused me to think over the question of whether it might be more in the KING'S interest that the repairs should be proceeded with, or whether, in view of so great an expense, the vessel should be put up for sale by public tender; and I therefore desired the Board to give that matter the mature consideration it demanded, and to report to me their opinion.

This the Board did, after making a fresh and minute survey, as a result of which it appeared that the increased cost as re-estimated would in all probability be confirmed. The Board furthermore believed that the present overhaul would not afford any guarantee that renewed expenditure would not at some time become necessary, both because of the difficulty of scarfing new timbers on to old ones, and because this port is not fully equipped for turning her out in thoroughly sound trim. For these reasons the Board considered the *Aguila* ought to be sold; and recommended that the whole of the money realised for her should be sent to Spain, where it would provide for building another vessel better adapted to these seas.

In these circumstances, and bearing in mind the advantage that may accrue to the Royal Treasury from her sale, I accepted the Board's recommendation, and gave orders to knock off stripping the frigate; and to have

[1] A little more than £10,000.

the notices and other preliminaries requisite in such cases prepared. The procedure as laid down by law having then been put into practice, several tenders were submitted to the Board; and that of Don Franz^co^ de la Fragua being the highest the vessel passed into his possession for the sum of 34,000 *pesos*[1], which he handed to the Treasury in ready money. Delivery was accordingly made over to him in virtue of the contract.

I relate all the facts of this transaction to Your most Illustrious Lordship thus particularly in order that you may be pleased to make His Majesty acquainted with the causes which obliged me thus to decide; but Brigadier Don Jph. de la Somaglia will nevertheless report it to His Lordship the Minister for the Department of the Navy, to whom he will also forward all the documents relating to the subject. And in final completion of it, trusting that the sale of the vessel as herein related may merit His Majesty's royal approval, the thirty-four thousand *pesos* have already been shipped in the pay-chest of the ship *El Astuto*, that they may be applied to the purpose suggested, or in such other manner as His Majesty may deem proper.

May Our Lord preserve Your most Illustrious Lordship many years, as is my wish.

Lima: 28th of February, 1778.

Most Illustrious Señor,

Your most obedient Servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

MANUEL DE GUIRIOR.

To the Most Ill^s^
Sor D^n^ José Galvez.

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[1] Nominally, about £5312.

Correspondence relating to the defacement of the Spaniards' cross at Tautira by Captain Cook.

MINUTE

[from the Conde de Floridablanca[1], to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

Most Excellent Señor,

I forward to Your Excellency a copy of a paragraph from a despatch I received a few days ago from Don Joseph de Onis, the KING'S Minister at Dresden, in order that Your Excellency may, on being apprised of its contents, make such use of the information it supplies as you may deem opportune.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. El Pardo: 19th February, 1782.

EL CONDE DE FLORIDABLANCA.

To Sor D^{n} Joseph de Galvez.

Enclosure.

D^{n} Joseph de Onis, Minister of Spain at Dresden, states, under date the 18th of January, 1782, amongst other matters, as follows:—

"There appeared a short time ago at Berlin, and at Mannheim, two books in German, the one originally written in that language and the other translated from English, which contain narratives of the last voyage of the famous Captain Cook[2]. The first was composed by a sailor,

[1] Don Josef Moñino, after being created Conde de Floridablanca by King Carlos III, succeeded the Marqués de Grimaldi as principal Minister of State in 1777.

[2] There was a foreigner on board the *Discovery* in the quality of Quartermaster, named Heinrich Zimmermann, who composed a narrative of the voyage (presumably from his own diary) in the German language. It was published first at Göttingen in 1781, but a second edition followed at Mannheim in 1782: both in 8°. Kayser,

Palatine by nationality; and it is suspected that the second may be by an English surgeon who, like the other, served in one of the said Commander's ships.

It is stated in both that, having arrived on the 12th of August of 1777 at the Island of Otaiti, they found there a wooden house, built by Spaniards, and a Cross of the same material having the day and the year on which these had taken possession of the Island in the name of the King Our Sovereign, cut upon it:—[and secondly]

That Captain Cook had caused the Spanish inscription to be obliterated from the Cross; and had put in its place another, in which it was stated that the Island of Otaiti

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who only gives abbreviated titles [*Index Librorum*, 1834] calls the book *Reise um die Welt mit Capit.* Cook, and quotes only the Mannheim edition, apparently. It was translated into French by Roland and printed at Berne in 1782, according to Boucher de la Richarderie, as *Dernier Voyage de Cook autour du Monde, où se trouvent les circonstances de sa mort; par* Henri Zimmermann. *Traduit de l'Allemand par* Roland *avec un abrégé de la Vie de ce navigateur et des notes.*— Berne, 1782: in 8°. It is mentioned also by Quérard [*La France littéraire*: tome X, p. 567].

One might suppose that the other book referred to by the Spanish Minister at Dresden was that of William Ellis, assistant surgeon of the *Resolution* [Bibl. no. 107]; but this supposition would involve an anachronism, seeing that the original English edition of his work was not published before 1782 (at London), a second edition following in 1783. The German translation of Ellis's work appeared at Leipzic, in the latter year only [Bibl. nos. 35 *ter* and 101]; and could therefore not have been seen by Don Josef de Onis when he penned his despatch in January 1782—if my references are correct. Moreover, Don Josef names Berlin as the place where one of the books he mentions "appeared." In *tome* XVII of the Sixth Series of the French Geographical Society's *Bulletin* [Bibl. no. 47 (*b*)] however, I find mention of a *Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise nach der Südsee in den Jahren* 1776—1780 *unter Anführung der Capit.* Cook, Clerke, Gore *und* King. *Eine Uebersetzung nebst Anmerkungen von* J. Rhld. Forster.—*Berlin*, 1781, 8°. The author's name is not quoted. This may be one of the publications referred to by Don Josef de Onis: for the ships reached home in October, 1780, and Forster would have been quite capable of bargaining with the writer for his MS. before it was published in English. The title of Bibl. no. 101 accords better with Ellis's, however; but I have not been able to meet with a copy of either of the works named in this foot-note, excepting Ellis's two English editions. What Ellis wrote about the affair of the inscription is re-printed among the Supplementary Papers (XIII) in this volume. There will also be found extracts from the unpublished REMARKS entered by Thomas Edgar, Master of the *Discovery*, in his Journal [Bibl. MSS. no. 25 *bis*], and from the narrative written by David Samwell [Bibl. MSS. no. 25 *ter*]. All these writers describe the *Padres'* mission house, and supply interesting details of the Spaniards' visit as gleaned from the natives by the English officers.

had been first discovered in the year 1767 by Captain Wallis, who had taken possession of it in the name of the King of England[1].

These narratives are the first that have been published, of that voyage; and as it is very possible they may not be known in Spain, as yet, and the act appears to me of importance, I have thought it well to communicate this information to Your Excellency in case it may not have come under your notice."

ROYAL COMMAND

[by H.M. Don Carlos III].

Let this information be communicated to the Viceroy of Peru with instructions to send, when possible, but without letting the matter be overlooked, some competent and trustworthy person to Otaheti to replace the Spanish inscription and obliterate the English one that Cook put up: desire the Viceroy also to try once more to renew the Mission of clerics that was there, if it should be practicable, and recall his attention to the previous ones.

Dated this 6th of March.

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[1] Captain Cook's own account of this incident is a perfectly candid one: there was no reason why it should be otherwise, as both truth and justice were on his side and the Spaniards' knowledge of the British visits and proceedings was very imperfect.

> "I preserved the memory of the prior visits of the English," he writes, "by inscribing *Georgius tertius Rex, Annis* 1767, 1769, 1774 & 1777" [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 12]:

but he does not mention having erased the Spanish lettering.

On this last point the independent eye-witness John Ledyard is clear. He was a young American who shipped in the *Resolution* as corporal of marines in 1776, and went the whole voyage in her. His journal was, with the rest, impounded by the Admiralty; but he afterwards re-wrote it from memory, and his narrative was published in America in 1783 [Bibl. no. 61]. He says

> "When our boat returned they brought off the cross the Spaniards had erected—eraced their inscription, and after putting on one in favour of his Britannic Majesty erected it again in the place from which we took it."

I cannot vouch for what Zimmermann may have published; but of all the records of this incident that have come under my notice none mention any *erasure*, excepting Ledyard's and the anonymous and admittedly untrustworthy account published by Newbery in 1781.

DESPATCH

[from the Secretary of State for the Indies, communicating the foregoing Royal Command to the Viceroy of Peru].

Most Excellent Señor,

In spite of the repeated provision the KING has at different times deemed proper to make for establishing some settlement of a permanent kind at the Island of *Otaheti* or AMAT, and for promoting the propagation of the Holy Gospel among those Islanders: notwithstanding, too, the amount of treasure disbursed on three expeditions which were conducted with this object, the intentions embodied in the scheme thus instituted have—according to the last advice communicated by the [late] Viceroy of your Realm, Dⁿ Manuel de Amat, in his despatch no. 1189, of the 25th of February, 1776—been frustrated. His Excellency therein gave an account of the information to hand by His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila*, which had then just completed the return voyage from the Island, bringing with her the two Franciscan missionary friars and other persons who had been staying there. The Viceroy further explained that he nevertheless was not losing hope in regard to the realisation of His Majesty's wish, seeing that the natives had shown themselves well disposed; and, notwithstanding the reports given by the missionaries in question alleging those natives' lack of docility, their idolatrous practices, and the indifference they displayed towards the Catholic Religion, he hoped that it might be possible to send fresh religious emissaries of a more fervent spirit who should be capable of improving opportunities which others had wasted through lack of courage.

It was therefore to be wished that this might be accomplished before the minds of the natives should cool, through the lapse of too long an interval after our last

visit, or they should forget the good treatment they received from the Spaniards: the more so because on that occasion, when the Frigate was about to depart, our people gave them to understand that we would again return. Moreover, by this laxity an opportunity is afforded to the English to repeat their visits as they did before, in order to advertise their action and their claims over those localities.

Whilst His Majesty felt assured that a further attempt to carry out this project within the moderate limits prescribed was in actual progress, no news at all has been received from Your Excellency, nor from your predecessor, since that communicated by Dⁿ Manuel de Amat in his despatch above referred to. His Majesty has not failed to notice this inaction, seeing that it has to do with a subject which so greatly enlists his catholic zeal and his desire to obviate for the future the consequences which must follow if the English should have gained a footing in the Island—an obstacle he has tried to avoid by the measures he desired to be put into practice from your side, but which, of late years, have met with so little attention.

This sheer neglect has been the more disappointing to His Majesty since receiving the intelligence announced in the enclosed paper communicated by his Minister at Dresden, who observes that Captain Cook arrived on the 12th of August of 1777 at the Island of *Otaheti*, where he found a wooden house built by Spaniards, and a Cross of the same material on which were graven the day and the year wherein our people took possession in the name of the KING our Sovereign: furthermore that Captain Cook had caused the Spanish inscription to be obliterated and had put up another in its place, in which it was asserted that the Island of *Otaheti* had been first discovered in the year 1767 by Captain Walis, who had taken possession of it in the name of the King of England.

In view of these occurrences, which it is not meet should seem warranted by the inaction of your Government, the KING desires that when it may be practicable, and without allowing this subject to become entombed in oblivion, Your Excellency will send some competent and trustworthy person to restore the Spanish inscription and obliterate the English one put up by Cook: that, besides this, Your Excellency will arrange that the Mission which was there before shall be renewed, if practicable, as Amat gave to understand; and that you will seek out for this purpose some clerics endued with sagacity and spirit enough to set at nought the fears by which the previous missionaries were obsessed. For it would be a pity to abandon the original design of imparting religious instruction to those natives, who, no doubt, will come to a true knowledge of the catholic Faith, provided those who apply themselves to this purpose possess courage, gentleness, and that kindliness of heart which their statutes require of them; and go discreetly to work to let those natives see their errors and understand the advantages that must follow on their embracing the Christian religion and rendering allegiance to the King of Spain.

His Majesty therefore trusts that you will do this, and that you will submit prompt and exact advices thereof and of all that may result in pursuance of the repeated commands which have been issued on the subject, for His Majesty's information.

May God grant &c. El Pardo: 6th March, 1782.

JOSEF GALVEZ.
Signed in quadruplicate.

To the Sor Viceroy of Peru.

Enclosure.—[Copy of the extract from the Minister at Dresden's despatch of Jany. 18th.]

DESPATCH

[from Don Agustín de Jáuregui, Viceroy of Peru, to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 162.

Most Excellent Señor,

Intimating that, in conformity with H.M.'s pleasure expressed in the Royal Command cited, he will put in hand measures for revisiting the Islands of *Otaheti*, and for replacing the Spanish inscription that was put up there but removed by Captain Cook.

From the narrative set forth in the Royal Command of March the 6th of this year I learn that it is His Majesty's intention that the examination and exploration of the Islands of *Otaheti*, or AMAT, begun by my predecessor Don Manuel de Amat, shall be continued; with a view to cultivate friendly terms with those Islanders, to promote the propagation of the Holy Gospel, and to serve other high and important purposes which were held in view when the Sovereign pleasure caused such measures as were deemed necessary for their realisation to be undertaken, and to which the aforesaid Viceroy gave practical effect.

The limited time which has elapsed since I received this Royal mandate has not allowed me to mature my plans for carrying out His Majesty's wishes in this most useful direction, so worthy of his sovereign consideration; obedience to which consequently merits my most particular attention.

For the present therefore, I submit my acknowledgement of having received from Your Excellency this Royal Command, and the transcript accompanying it (in which the arrival of Captain Cook at the said Islands on the 12th of August 1777 is announced, and also his committal of the offence of removing the inscriptions from Crosses left there by the Spaniards in token of possession, and of

putting up in their place one to the effect that they were discovered in 1767 by Captain Walis); undertaking to render an account to Your Excellency of progress made, and of the result my plans may achieve, for the information and Royal approval of His Majesty.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years. Lima: 16th December, 1782.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most obedient Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

AGUSTIN DE JAUREGUI.

To the Most Exc^{t}
Sor D^{n} José de Galvez.

A LETTER

[addressed by *Fr.* Hilario Martinez, an unattached missionary cleric who had formerly belonged to the College of Ocopa, to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

Most Excellent Señor,

My resolve to trench upon Your Excellency's attention might well be characterised as inconsiderate, did not the gravity of my subject matter and its relation to the responsibilities of Your Excellency's Administration, and those of my profession, exonerate me. Your Excellency is the only Minister to whom the Sovereign has confided the care of the most weighty affairs touching America. I am one of the Missionaries whom His Majesty designated for the propagation of the Gospel in these regions in the year '67, since which time I have seen the immeasurable and universal need for efficient workers, under which both heathens and Christians in this Realm suffer. The first of these, who have no knowledge of the true God,

are innumerable throughout the country: the latter, without distinction of rank, age, sex, or class, display an universal slackness, and a mode of life in no way Christian. With the practical knowledge I have gained of all this it would be very easy for me to draw up an accurate account of the aspects of religion in these regions; but my description would be too prolix, it would shock modesty, it would be lacking in charity, and my statements would not be believed. I say merely that on contrasting the mode of living of all these people with the purity of the Gospel, it seems as though there is *no Christianity in the Indies.* Would to God that this assertion were exaggerated, and untrue! But it is as positive as it sounds. I leave the remedy for so great an evil to the zeal of the many Prelates and ministers who have the cultivation of this vineyard under their charge; reserving my sentiments to devote them exclusively to the commiseration of the infidels in the Islands of *Otaheti*, and of Chiloé.

If one reads the narratives about *Otaheti*, whether those of our own or of foreign visitors, one needs no farther stimulus to devote one's-self to winning over those benighted natives. Those statements, and what I have learned besides from the many persons who sailed to the islands, hold me in perpetual compassion and unrest. I know that it is an archipelago as yet limitless: I know that they are very fertile and healthy islands: that their people are innumerable, very tractable and human: that it has not been sought with due earnestness and perseverance to win them over; but I do not understand what motives have led to the abandonment of an enterprise so rightful, of such high aims, so grateful in the sight of God, and so much in the interests of the Crown.

And moreover, if peradventure it sh^{d} be sought to belittle the spiritual welfare of so many souls, or claim that it can but be of trifling consequence, one should reflect

that those Islands lie only a very short way from Lima, and that their occupation by any other Power would mean having an enemy at our very doors, any effort to dislodge whom would cost us much or fail of success.

As to secular uses, no one can vouch whether there be any or no: because, of the 22 islands reconnoitred in those seas, our people set foot on only the last one, and that without going to the trouble of carefully ascertaining its products[1]. Yet some of them are noted in a French account[2].

Thrice have I written to the Lord Viceroy of Lima proposing an effective occupation of these Islands and explaining in clear terms that it should be set about methodically, with soldiery, settlers, and some such artizans as carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, and tailors, &c. Thanks to the full knowledge I possess of all those Islanders and the love I bear them, and seeing too that our Spaniards are sufficiently trained to the use of arms and in military service, I perceive no difficulty in such an undertaking. Pending a reply from His most Excellent Lordship I wrote to the Serjeant-major of the garrison at Valdivia, don Lucas de Molina, asking whether he would be disposed to accept the command of such an expedition in the event of its being offered him; and I enclose his answer and suggestions[3], for Your Excellency's information. But, down to the date of this letter, I have not received the reply I hoped for from His most Excellent Lordship; and feeling that my working years are slipping by and that the urgent needs of those poor unfortunates

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[1] This was not a just aspersion, as the journals now printed show; but the friar's authority was probably his colleague González or Amich, and he may not have seen Andía y Varela's ample and studied description.

[2] Here he can only have meant Bougainville's volume.

[3] Not met with among the papers.

are not being relieved, I have resolved to submit my wishes in writing to Your Excellency[1].

* * * * * * * *

This, Sir, is as much as I deem useful and necessary for the glory of God, the blessedness of Our Monarch, and the succour of those poor Indians. As touching myself, may Your Excellency, should such be your pleasure, make choice of my small ability for each or any of the three schemes referred to[2]. I leave the matter at this: and although I have parted from my College of Ocopa, I shall come to no resolve with regard to my future sphere until I am made acquainted with Your Excellency's will and commands, whose decision I await at this Convent of Valparaiso in the Realm of Chile, from the hands of the Señor Governor of the Port.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency's valuable life for many years in all happiness. Valparaiso: 2nd January 1784.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your obedient and humble Chaplain kisses Your Excellency's hand.

Fr. Hilario Martinez.

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[1] Here the good friar goes on to propound two other schemes he had in mind, the one to engage the Government's favour and co-operation in annually enlisting some natives of the Guaianecos islands to be brought to Chiloé for instruction and baptism: the other, to employ 200 men-at-arms and a few artillerymen with field-guns from Valdivia "where there are only soldiery, with no food supply available," and a sufficient number of labourers from Chiloé "where all are of the working class and provisions are abundant," on the construction of a much wanted road between those two settlements. This part of his letter would fill some two pages of print, and is here omitted as irrelevant to the main subject.

[2] *Viz.*, (1) the subjection of Tahiti to the Spanish crown and the Christianising of its natives: (2) the same of the Guaianecos archipelago: and (3) the opening up of a road between Valdivia and the Chacao narrows at Chiloé.

MINUTE

[covering a précis[1] of *Fr.* Hilario Martinez's foregoing letter, and submitted to the King].

Under date the 18th of January of '82 Dⁿ Josef Onis, our Minister at Dresden, reported the publication in Berlin and Mannheim of some of the narratives of the voyages of the English Captain Cook, wherein it was stated that when that Captain arrived at the Island of *Otahety* he found there a wooden house built by Spaniards, and a cross of the same material on which the day and the year when these took possession of the Island in the name of His Catholic Majesty were cut: that Captain Cook had caused the Spanish inscription to be obliterated from the cross, and had put another in his language in its place, which said that the Island was originally discovered in the year 1767 by Captain Wallis, who took possession of it in the name of the King of England.

On receipt of this intelligence a Command was communicated to the Viceroy of Peru, dated the 6th of March of '82, intimating that, in order to avoid the ill consequences that might result to the Crown if the English should succeed in establishing themselves in the Island of *Otaheti*, as suggested by the intelligence furnished by the said Minister, some competent person should be despatched to the Island in question to restore the Spanish inscription and to obliterate the English one put up by Cook: and further, that the Mission that was previously there should, if practicable, be renewed. He has not yet given any account of the result.

17th November, 1784.

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[1] The précis is not printed. It is a gross jumble of errors and confusion of the three schemes together, totally misconstruing *Fr.* Hilario's proposals. The wits of the clerk who wrote it must have been astray at the time. Not so, however, the Minute; which is quite correct as to facts as far as it goes.

ROYAL COMMAND

[in the KING'S handwriting].

Let the Command be repeated to Croix. 23rd dº.

ROYAL COMMAND

[communicated by the Secretary of State for the Indies, to Don Teodoro de Croix, Viceroy of Peru].

Most Excellent Señor,

Under date the 18th of January of '82 our Minister at Dresden communicated intelligence of which I enclosed a copy to Your Excy, relative to the settlements meditated by the English in the Island of *Otahety*.

His Majesty resolved, in consequence, that instructions be given to Your Excy's predecessor (as was done under date the 6th of March of the same year, a copy of the said intelligence being then enclosed to him) to the effect that when possible, but without letting the matter get overlooked, some competent and trustworthy person should be sent to *Otaheti* for the purpose of restoring the Spanish inscription of which the said Minister made mention, and of expunging the English one put up by Captain Cook. His Majesty directed furthermore that an endeavour be made to re-establish there, if possible, the Mission of clerics that there was before.

As, notwithstanding the considerable space of time that has since elapsed, no reply to the said Royal Command has been received, nor any intimation of its having been given effect to, His Majesty commands me to repeat it to Your Excellency—as I now do—in order that (should it not already have been done when you receive this) you may arrange for some person with the qualifications mentioned to proceed immediately to that point and restore

the aforesaid inscription. You are to endeavour at the same time, and by such means as your discretion may dictate, to settle fresh missionaries there who shall dedicate themselves with earnestness and zeal to the conversion and instruction of the natives: and you are to give prompt advice of progress made in the matter, for His Majesty's information.

May God preserve to Your Excellency many years of life. Sn Lorenzo: 25th November, 1784.

JOSEF GALVEZ.

To the Sor Viceroy of Peru.

Waning zeal for the occupation of Tahiti on the part of Spain; and final abandonment of the enterprise.

DESPATCH

[from El Caballero Don Teodoro de Croix, Viceroy of Peru, to the Marqués de la Sonora[1], Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 28.

Confidential.

Most Excellent Señor,

Reporting that, through lack of funds, the exploitation of *Otaheti* cannot be accomplished: and that it is likely the French may now proceed there.

The exploitation of the island of *Otaheti* being of the highest importance to the Monarchy, and the Royal Commands that were addressed to my predecessor and to myself to carry it out, and if possible establish Missions

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[1] This title was conferred on Don José Gálvez, the Secretary of State for the Indies. See p. 350. The Viceroy also wrote a separate despatch (no. 384) reporting the arrival of La Pérouse's ships at La Concepcion, and their reception there.

there, having been repeated, I have endeavoured to promote this undertaking with all speed; but, the Public Treasury being completely exhausted, and finding no means nor resources for giving effect to my plans, these have, of necessity, been suspended. Nevertheless, as there is reason to believe that European nations may not be losing sight of so fine a possession and that, once settled there, they might[1] cause us much trouble or apprehension, I apprise Your Excellency of the position, for your guidance.

Regarding this point I think it probable, despite the strictness with which they mask their designs, that the French expedition under the Count of la Pérouse may be proceeding, among other projects, to examine the island in question; as Your Excellency will observe from the annexed copy of a despatch addressed to me by the Governor of La Concepcion in Chile.

May God preserve Your Exellency many years. Lima: 5th July, 1786.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

El Cav^ro de Croix.

To the Most Excellent
The Señor Marq^s de Sonora.

Enclosure.

[Copy of a Despatch from Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, Governor of La Concepcion de Chile, to the Viceroy of Peru.]

Most Excellent Señor,

Having received intelligence, when at the frontier, of the arrival in this bay on the 24th of February, of the Most

[1] Or 'could' (*podrian*).

Christian King's two frigates the *Buzola* and *Astrolavio*[1], under the command of the Count of La Pérouse, I had to come down to this city in order to fulfil Our Sovereign's command dated at Aranjuez on the 19th of May last, and communicated to the President of this Realm, of which the Comandante La Pérouse carries with him a duplicate, and the annexed document[2] is a copy.

I was able to leave the border districts fairly quiet and settled, the Indians in their own territories being very contented with the peace meetings to which the disturbances of the summer gave way.

I found that Don Pedro Quixada, the officer in command here, had already waited upon the strangers, prior to my arrival, and had afforded them all the assistance they asked; but I took pains to make things pleasant for the commanders, the officers, and the other persons they have on board, to their entire satisfaction. Briefly, they will have as many supplies as they stand in need of, which is to say wood, water, some fresh provisions, dried vegetables, flour, wine, &c.; and the Count of la Pérouse assures me that he will get away to sea in the coming week, without fail[3].

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[1] *La Boussole*, commanded by the Sieur de la Pérouse, and *l'Astrolabe* under Capt. de Langle. The date of their visit is correctly stated.

[2] There is no such "annexed document" in the *Archivo*, O'Higgins' despatch being itself only in copy, as an enclosure. The transcript of the Royal Command referred to no doubt remained, with the original despatch, in the Viceroy's chancellery; and there was no need to send a copy of it to Madrid, where it was already on record.

[3] All the statements in the above paragraph agree perfectly with La Pérouse's own narrative of his stay at La Concepcion: which port he quitted on March 17th. *Cf.* Bibl. no. 112, vol. II, pp. 64–9. He was provided with refreshments in embarrassing abundance and was received on shore with open arms. All the social resources of the town and the adjoining settlement at Talcahuano were put at the disposal of his officers and crews; and, when Don Ambrosio arrived from up-country, dinners and balls were given and reciprocated. The commanders, who were both men of exceptional charm, vied with each other in trying to please. Meanwhile, nevertheless, it has been seen that O'Higgins' suspicions were not idle; and M. de Monneron's report to his own commander [*Op. cit.* vol. IV, pp. 96–101] shows that the French, too, made good use of their visit to take stock of the neighbourhood, and to gauge its susceptibility to military capture, and consider how the sympathies of the 'Indians' might be enlisted as a sure means for destroying Spanish influence in Chile and for eradicating its colonists, so that "pour ne pas être témoins de la ruine de

But he has not told me what places he is bound to next, and, as it is said that he was very reticent on this subject before my arrival, I have not cared to push inquiries unavailingly in the face of an express order not to disclose the scheme of his voyage which no doubt he

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leurs établissemens, de la dévastation de leurs possessions, et pour mettre leur propre vie à couvert, les Espagnols se verraient obligés de tout abandonner et de se retirer au Pérou" [pp. 100–1].

O'Higgins' surmise that La Pérouse was bound to Tahiti, amongst other places, was a sound one: the French instructions directed in fact that, though the ships were to part company after quitting Easter Island, they should re-join at Tahiti and spend a month there; calling afterwards at the leeward islands of the Society Group. It does not, however, appear that they were ordered to Tahiti with any political object; but mainly as a place of rendez-vous and refreshment, and for fitting together the sections of two decked shallops they carried to act as tenders, though also for conducting scientific observations and inquiries in accordance with the general aims of the voyage. [*Op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 17–19, 31–33, 47.] In the event, however, they never did go there.

The Spanish Government had so long and rigorously denied the hospitality of South American harbours to foreign shipping that, had not La Pérouse been provided, through the foresight of his Sovereign, with a special mandate in his favour from the King of Spain, the Chilean authorities would certainly have refused him supplies; and might have looked upon his frigates as *contrabandistas* or even enemy's ships.

In contrast to the courtesy secured to the French expedition by the existence of the Family Pact and the personal amity between its principals, the attitude of King Carlos III towards British exploration ten years before this time is made vividly clear by the following hitherto unpublished despatch from the Viceroy Amat's successor: proving that the Spanish Government was not satisfied that Captain Cook's commission was of an entirely peaceable nature, and did not then properly apprehend its value in the interests of pure science and international culture. The original despatch is in the *Archivo de Indias* [Est. 110–Caj. 3–Leg. 17], where I translated it.

The Viceroy of Peru.

No. 88.

My Lord,

Ackg receipt of Rl Command directing that the two corvettes which left London, in charge of the English captain Cooke, bound on a fresh voyage of discovery, be not admitted into these ports.

Your most Illustrious Lordship acquainted me, under date the 14th of July last, with news the King had received that two corvettes had sailed from London under the charge of Captain Cooke, bound on a fresh voyage of discovery; and stated that since it may be presumed, from intelligence previously to hand and communicated to my predecessor in yours of November 25th of the past year about the despatch of a Frigate of that nation to the Isles of

will have. We know, however, that his arrival here means that he will not touch at any other port of ours in this continent: he has no reason to, indeed, because the officers in command and their subordinates carry no trade goods with them whatever. A very careful watch has been kept here ever since the French arrived, for any sort of contraband articles, or the landing of any merchandise to the prejudice of the Royal revenues; but these gentlemen, especially the officers, conduct themselves as all those who serve honourably and disinterestedly should. Indeed, nothing has given them greater offence than the offers of certain dealers who, mistaking them, it seems, for traders, went to Talcahuano, where they tried to procure French goods from them by purchase, being accustomed to do business with vessels of every tonnage arriving in these seas [from Europe] with general cargoes, or minor ventures heretofore.

On the contrary, none of the members of the present expedition exhibit any thought but enthusiasm for research,

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Otaeyti[1], that these [vessels] will likewise direct their course towards the South Sea, Your most Illust[s] Lordship was notifying me thereof by His Majesty's command in order that I should give the necessary warning to Governors of coastal districts to be watchful that, in the event of these [corvettes] arriving off any of those districts, they should not be admitted into our ports.

Having now issued the necessary directions that this Royal injunction be punctually observed, and that I am to be notified if the contingency should arise, I acquaint Your most Ill[s] Lordship accordingly, for His Majesty's information.

May Our Lord keep you many years, as is my wish. Lima: 20th December, 1776.—Most Ill[s] Señor, &c., B. L. M., &c., &c. MANUEL DE GUIRIOR.—To the most Ill[s] S[or] D[n] Josef de Galvez.

[1] That despatch is printed at p. 361 from the draft, which is dated Nov. the 17th; and the foot-note appended to it shows that the Frigate in question was the *Resolution*, Capt. Cook. The *two* 'frigates' here referred to were the last named and the *Discovery*. They sailed from the Nore on the 25th and 16th of June respectively, 1776, and from Plymouth a few days later; so that the Spaniards lost some time in advising the Viceroy of their departure. Could the following passage in the Secret Instructions issued to Capt. Cook by the Lords of the Admiralty have been known, at the time, to the Spanish King, it is inconceivable that such a prohibition as the above despatch records would have been decreed.

> "You are also strictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the Western continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident; in which case you are to stay no longer than shall be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic Majesty."

for the improvement of navigation, for the extension of geographical knowledge, the exploration of seas and islands, and for determining with the greatest exactitude the configuration of the Globe and all it contains of use to its inhabitants. That, as would seem, is the philosophy of these admirable men; but still, it is not to be supposed that they will set aside their nation's interests by neglecting to keep an eye, as chances offer, on the places best adapted for settlement; nor, likewise, to appropriate for colonisation at an opportune time (though, for the nonce, it would only be in their mind's eye) some island of suitable resources out of the many they must surely visit in crossing the Pacific Ocean and in pursuing their course afterwards from the coast of California to the outposts planted in the Western sea by Russians, of whose movements no doubt Your Excellency has intelligence.

One may suppose that the present explorers will push northwards and thoroughly examine the little known seas in that region before passing onwards to the shores of Asia itself, where it is likely they will stay some time and make various traverses. For there can be no doubt (although they say nothing about it) that Russia's ambitious designs, and her attempts to extend her territories from Kamschatka in the direction of the American coast, while at the same time fostering her vast project of opening up her commerce with the Chinese and Persians by way of the Caspian Sea, are causing much uneasiness to the Cabinets of certain Powers; and it may be not the least important object of the present explorers, perhaps, to investigate those localities with a view to adopt corresponding measures later on.

I have noticed that they say nothing about occupying themselves with any search for a Southern Continent, nor with penetrating the seas towards that Pole, nor about visiting New Zealand either. Maybe they do not consider it necessary; but they carry with them the journals of the famous Captain Kook, his nautical and astronomical observations, and [notes of] all that he examined during his three voyages round the World, and even his own instruments, which the Royal Society of Sciences of London passed on to the Count of La Pérouse, as I have just learnt. Kook spoke in the highest terms of the Island of *Otaheti*; preferring it, for purposes of colonisation, before any of the neighbouring places discovered by Mendaña and Quiros. All the modern circumnavigators praise its situation, soil, climate, and resources, as being fitted for an establishment

of the first order; while they commend the docility of its inhabitants above that of the rest of the Island populations.

These gentlemen have formed no meaner an estimate of the same island, but I do not know whether they intend to visit it or no. It may well be that they will not care to lose the time that is so necessary to them for gaining those high latitudes on the other side of the equator where, as I said before, they have much before them: especially in connection with completing the latest explorations in that hemisphere, which Kook perforce left unfinished by reason of his unfortunate death.

I remain, with most humble respect, at Your Excellency's service; praying, meanwhile, to Our Lord that He will preserve your life for many years. Concepcion de Chile: 12th March, 1786.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most affectionate, grateful, and respectful Subject kisses Your Excellency's hand,

AMBROSIO HIGGINS DE VALLINAR.

To the Most Exc^{t} S^{or}

Don Teodoro de Croix, Viceroy of these Realms.

PRÉCIS

[or Minute, submitted to the King with the Viceroy's despatch no. 28 and its enclosure].

In the accompanying despatch[1] the Viceroy makes known that it has not been possible to give effect to the most recent Commands, transmitted on the 6th of March, 1782, and the 25th[2] of November, '84, in which he was instructed to send some competent and trustworthy person to *Otaheite* to restore the Spanish inscription that Captain Kook had obliterated, and to erase the one the latter put

[1] The despatch (no. 28, dated July the 5th, 1786), seems to have taken an inordinately long time to reach Spain, or else to have been allowed to lie unanswered for a matter of months. See pp. 414–15.

[2] Printed at pp. 404–6 and 413–14.

up on behalf of his own nation in its place: and also to rehabilitate the Mission which was there before.

The first was acknowledged by Jauregui; but, so far, no reply has come to hand in respect of the second. It would seem, however, that there is information as full as could be wished, from the researches conducted by our former expeditions, to have enabled this to be done. 7th June, 1787.

ROYAL COMMAND

[communicated by the Secretary of State for the Indies, to the Viceroy of Peru].

From Your Excellency's confidential despatch of the 25th[1] [*sic*] of July of the year last past, n° 28, and the copy enclosed with it of one you received from Don Ambrosio Higgins, Governor of La Concepcion de Chile, the King has become acquainted with designs which it is possible the French expedition commanded by the Count of La Pérouse, and other European nations besides, may have had in regard to the Island of *Otaheti*.

His Majesty likewise learns the reasons which have made it impossible on our part to exploit the Island and settle Missionaries upon it, the business of which was entrusted, through the medium of repeated Royal Commands, to your Viceregency. It is still His Majesty's intention to carry this enterprise into effect, when it may be possible to do so; and I am commanded to give Your Excellency this intimation of his Royal will, for your information and compliance.

May God preserve Y. E. many years. Aranjuez: 19th June, 1787.

[ANTONIO VALDES].

To the Sor Viceroy of Peru.

[1] The date the despatch bears is the 5th: see p. 415. The 25th was probably a clerical error, the Command it acknowledged being dated the 25th (of November): see p. 414.

[The King was not destined to see his royal intention achieved, however, for on the 14th of December in the following year he ceased to live; and the occupation of Tahiti by emissaries of his nation was never resumed.

The first volume of this work opens with an excerpt from the Viceroy Amat's official "Recital" in which he narrated the broad facts about the *Aguila's* three voyages to Tahiti and the circumstances that led him to promote her mission. The portion of the Viceroy de Croix's "Recital," in which he reviews the same enterprise and explains why the King's commands to renew it could not be given effect to, seems therefore an appropriate document with which to close the history contained in this second volume; and follows here.—ED.]

A RECITAL

OF THE EVENTS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION
LEFT BY EL CABALLERO

DON TEODORO DE CROIX,

VICEROY OF PERU,
FOR THE INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE
OF HIS SUCCESSOR[1].

[*Excerpt.*]

Whenever there has been the slightest suspicion that a settlement of foreigners in any of the islands was in contemplation, expeditions have been despatched afresh—if a certainty—to thwart them; and, where such certainty was not clear, to reassert His [Majesty's] possession over his lawful dominions. Thus, in 1770, while the Most Exc[t] Señor Don Manuel de Amat was ruling these Realms, he despatched the ship of war *San Lorenzo* and the frigate *Santa Rosalía*, which were in the roads at the time, on

[1] This Recital has been printed, and occurs in Bibl. no. 42 *bis*, vol. v. The present excerpt is translated from pp. 246–252 of that work. The portion of the context next preceding it is given as Appendix II in vol. XIII of the Hakluyt Society's Second Series. It is merely exordial. Croix was Viceroy from April 1784 to March 1790, and was succeeded in office by *Fr.* Don Francisco Gil de Lemos.

merely hearing that foreign vessels had been seen at the Island of David[1], situated in lat. 27° 15′ South, and longitude 236° 36′ from the meridian of Tenerife. The first was commanded by Don Felipe González of the rank of Captain, the second by Don Antonio Domonte, of the same rank; and they were to conduct the voyage in accordance with instructions he gave them. This commission was successfully carried out. No foreign settlement was met with. The Islanders proclaimed our Sovereign as their own, three crosses were erected on a lofty hill, and the roadstead was called after *San Carlos* in honour of the august name of its Monarch and rightful lord[2].

On the news of this expedition being communicated to the Government not only was it approved, but His Majesty was pleased to direct, by a Royal Command of the 9th of October 1771, that the despatch of vessels to the above-mentioned Island should be continued, and that the friendship of its inhabitants should be cultivated in order to make them participate in the spiritual and temporal benefits that were the object of his Royal consideration.

His Majesty pointed out in the same Royal Command that it was known, from [accounts of] the voyage of the English astronomers Solander and his companion round the world, that they had called at the Island of *Hotageti*, and that they had thereupon proceeded to explore the whole of it[3]. The Governor of Buenos Ayres, in writing of the *Maluinas*, also communicated [the fact] that two

[1] This is not the exact truth. It was the arrival of M. de Surville's vessel at El Callao that moved the Viceroy to send out the ship and frigate mentioned; but, although Surville's vessel was in fact bound for Easter Island, she never found it and was consequently never seen there. At that date Roggeveen's ships were the only European ones that had visited the place: that occurred in 1722.

[2] For full particulars of that voyage see Bibl. no. 32 (a).

[3] De Croix's spelling of *Tahiti* takes various forms. In the present text they are copied *literatim* from the printed Spanish version. Solander's "companion" was Joseph Banks, in H.M.S. *Endeavour*, under Lieut. Cook; their visit to Tahiti took place in 1769.

English ships, under the command of Captain Wallase, had passed into those Seas, making for the same island of *Hotaeti*; and that, on arriving there, they had bestowed upon it the name of *Jorge*[1].

Although His Majesty notified His Excy [de Amat] in his Royal Command of December the 11th, 1771, to make the arrangements necessary for [founding] a settlement at *David's* Island, yet His Excy, deeming that [scheme] to call for more prolonged thinking out in detail—and also because he had been furthermore desired to secure an examination of the Island of *Otaeti*—directed all his energies towards this latter. In fact, on the 26th of September, 1772, His Excellency sent out the Frigate *el Aguila*, commanded by Don Domingo Buenechea, who reached the island in question on the 9th of November; and, from the port of Valparaiso, where he put in with the frigate much damaged, sent forward a report of all that had been observed during the voyage. This was, mainly, to the effect that no foreign settlement had been met with, either in that island or in others near-by it; but that the Islanders did furnish intelligence of two English vessels having been there for some months.

As the Señor Amat had submitted an account of this expedition to His Majesty, with some particulars of the Island's recommendations [as a place] for settlement: to wit, the large number of its inhabitants, the security of its harbour, productiveness of its soil, civility of the Indians, their quick-wittedness[2], and, some of their customs least in conflict—in spite of their heathenism—with our Religion, His Excellency, in virtue of a Royal Command dated the 26th of October, 1773, despatched two vessels, on the 20th of September, 1774, for further investigation and the establishment of a Mission of Franciscan Fathers.

[1] 'King George the Third's Island' was the exact name.
[2] *Industria.*

This expedition, though successful,—for the frigate returned six months and eighteen days later, after leaving the missionary *padres* and an interpreter stationed in the Island—suffered a misfortune in the loss of Captain Bonechea, an officer of very distinguished merit, who died from natural causes. A report of everything was sent to H.M. with a plan of the Island and its harbour, situated in lat. 17° 45′ and long. 228° 56′ together with all other particulars of its thirty-five or forty leagues' extent of surface, and its contiguity to other islands, as described in the detailed account of this voyage to be found in the Most Exc[t] Señor Amat's recital of the events of his Administration[1].

The same Señor Viceroy resolved on a third expedition to the said island, because of the interpreter and two missionary clerics remaining there: whose progress and achievements in converting the natives were to constitute a foundation for the settlement it was designed to form there in obedience to the Royal will; and, on the 27th of September, 1775, he [accordingly] despatched the same Frigate, [now] under the command of Don Cayetano de Lángara, in their interests. She returned to port after 143 days, bringing back the two missionaries and the interpreter: the former without having effected any progress of an evangelical kind whatsoever, as it turned out they did not possess all that apostolic spirit which their holy vocation demands; for they lived in constant suspicion and fear of the Indians. The interpreter, on the contrary, roamed freely through the island and got to know every part of it. He learnt that it has a good harbour named *Matabay* on the western side[2], where the English astronomers lay

[1] For which see vol. I, p. I, of the present work.

[2] *Matavai* is at the northernmost point of Tahiti.

a long while at anchor: that the harbour of *Hatutira*[1] (where our own vessels moored) is situated on the northern aspect: and that the Chief who holds sway on this side—a different one from him of the western side—had accorded them a kindly reception: and that all the Indians were tractable and cordially disposed, and consequently open to become converted to our sacred Religion.

The Lord Viceroy submitted an account of all this to His Majesty; but there was no further Royal ruling on the subject until the year 1784, when, under date the 25th of November, from San Lorenzo, I was notified that a Royal Command issued on the 6th of March, 1782[2], had been sent forward to my predecessor the Most Exc[t] Señor Don Agustín de Jáuregui to the effect that, in virtue of certain information communicated from the city of Dresden by Don José de Onis, Minister at the Court of Berlin, relative to some books that had appeared there, it had become known through them that the English were proposing to form a settlement at *Hotaeti*; and that when Captain Cook arrived at the island on the 12th of August, 1777, finding a wooden house there, and a Cross at the foot of which was graven an inscription recording the date when the Spaniards had taken possession of the Island in the name of their Sovereign, he had caused this to be obliterated. Furthermore, my predecessor not having replied to the said Royal Command, I was directed (if at the time I should receive this instruction the matter had not already been attended to) to immediately arrange for some trustworthy person to proceed to the said island and set up anew the inscription that had been obliterated, and to endeavour to found, by any means that prudence might dictate, a new Mission

[1] Misspelt *Tatitira* in the printed *Memorias* [Bibl. no. 42 *bis*, *tomo* v]. Its aspect is North, but to say that *Tautira* lies on the northern aspect of the island conveys a wrong idea of its situation.

[2] Printed at pp. 403–6.

which should dedicate itself to the conversion of the natives with firmness of purpose, and zeal.

I immediately gave orders for this Royal Command to be attended to and executed; but, thinking to avail myself, with that object, of ships of war under the command of Commodore Don Antonio Bacaro, I found myself just then faced with Royal Commands directing the prompt return of his squadron to Spain.

There being no alternative but to equip the expedition by means of merchant vessels of these seas, it was necessary to come to an understanding on the subject with the *Visitador* and deputy-Comptroller of the Royal Exchequer. I proceeded to do so by addressing myself to the executive branch of the Exchequer, and forwarded the proper official document accordingly. The reply that was made to me, on the 11th of November, 1785, left me without expedient for giving effect to the Royal wishes. In it was represented to me not only the exhausted condition of the Royal Treasury, but the enormous obligations that had been incurred on account of naval expenses by reason of the war with the British nation; and, similarly, those that had been indispensably entered into for quelling rebellion within the Realm, the leavings and ill effects of which still continued, so that the resources of the Exchequer were at so low an ebb that barely 300 *pesos* remained in the Treasury to meet all the charges borne by the State. And although the *Visitador* protested at the same time that he would co-operate with pleasure and zeal for the carrying out of the Royal intentions, seeing that I specified the employment of two country vessels to comprise the expedition, with due economy of course, but for a consideration, it could not be, because neither was there any person who would accommodate us on those terms nor could I risk the honour of the King's arms in small craft poorly manned and equipped, as the outcome of the rigid economy that was prescribed.

Nevertheless, being most anxious to comply with the Royal Command, I sent forward to him a second official letter, stating that Captain Don Miguel de Orosco had offered to conduct the expedition in H.M.'s bark the *Monserrat*[1], on an estimated expenditure of 26,485 *pesos*, particulars of which I enclosed with my official communication aforesaid.

By the reasons given me in the reply I received, however, and the conditions proposed to be defined before Orosco's offer could be deemed acceptable—to which neither was Orosco prepared to agree, nor was it right that I should allow him to—the proposed expedition was rendered impossible; and no further alternative remained to me.

I explained this to His Majesty in my confidential despatch of the 25th [*sic*] of July, 1786, under cover of which I enclosed a copy of the despatch of the Señor Don Ambrosio Higgins, Comandante of the frontiers of the Realm of Chile, following the arrival of the Count de la Pérouse's expedition at the port of La Concepcion in that Realm on the 24th of February, 1786, consisting of the *Buzola* and *Astrolabio* under his command: commended by our Sovereign in his Royal Command of May 19th, 1785, to our good offices, at the solicitation of the Most Christian King, and directed to the completion and perfection of labours prosecuted these last years for the exploration of the terraqueous Globe.

In the highly zealous and circumstantial despatch of the worthy Don Ambrosio Higgins, who is now Commander-in-Chief of the Realm of Chile and President of its Royal Audience[2], mention is made, amongst other points, that Captain Cook speaks of the Isle of *Otaeti* in his Journals, [copies of] which the Count de la Pérouse carries

[1] See p. 398, note 2.

[2] Later on he became Viceroy of Peru.

with him, and prefers it before all the others in these seas for the establishment of a colony.

His Majesty, in view of all the circumstances, and of the impossibility, on my part, of undertaking a fresh examination of the Isle of *Hotaeti* or of founding anew the Mission that was prescribed, and replacing the inscription that the English had obliterated, notified and directed me by Royal Command of the 12th of July[1], 1787, to give effect to all these matters whenever it should prove possible.

For the reason that English vessels, apparently whalers, made their appearance in these Seas during the course of the past year 1788[2], and that there were sundry grounds for belief that they might have a station at the Isle of *San Félix* situated in lat. 26° and distant 100 leagues[3] from the [main-] land, I contrived an expedition of which I will speak in due course[4]; and there remains nothing further for me to say at present in regard to the Island of *Hotaeti*, except that one of the glorious undertakings reserved for Your Excellency's activity and zeal may possibly be to accomplish and fulfil His Majesty's pious intentions for the establishment of a zealous Mission for the conversion of those natives, and by this means, together with our intercourse and gentle dealing with them, to forestall foreign ships from wrongfully and unnecessarily putting in at the Island[5].

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[1] Should be June the 19th: see p. 421.

[2] This statement is of interest in helping to fix the period when South Sea whaling ships began to be sent out from England; but there was some confusion in the Spanish mind then between what was British and what was of New England. The constitution of Massachusetts, from which commonwealth practically all American whalers hailed, was settled in 1780.

[3] It is 9° of longitude—say 167 leagues, in that latitude.

[4] See the editorial note on next page.

[5] A vain hope: for, as stated at p. 422, nothing more was ever done in the matter.

Note.

[A small venture to explore the isles of San Félix and La Mocha was made, under De Croix's administration, in the ship *San Pablo* at the expense of her owner, Don Juan Miguel de Castañeda, a prominent merchant of Lima. He volunteered the use of his vessel free of cost to the Treasury. An officer and twenty men of the Lima regiment of foot were put on board with a stock of arms and ammunition lent by the arsenal, but to be replaced afterwards by Don Juan. No naval officer of fairly senior rank could be found in good enough health, just then, to take command of the expedition; so the *San Pablo* sailed in charge of Don Antonio Casulo as Master, ranking in the navy as an *Alferez de Fragata* or sub-lieutenant, on the 6th of June, 1789.

His instructions were defined nominally under eight headings or articles, but only seven appear and they deal with the following points, viz.:—

1.—To explore the isles of San Félix and La Mocha, and fix their positions on the chart.

2.—To examine their harbours, coves, roadsteads, currents, anchorages and shelter.

3.—To find out whether there are any huts that might denote quarters for whaling parties.

4.—The subterfuge and stealth to be adopted in the event of meeting any foreign vessel, so as to prevent her escape and be able to take possession of her by stratagem.

5.—Whether any English be there or not, he should land in order to see if there be water, wood, flats, forest land, animals, birds, &c.

6.—As to whether it would be possible and expedient to form a settlement at them, having regard to the presence of potable water, a mild climate, and land adapted for irrigation and tillage.

7.—Whether fish are plentiful there, of what kinds they are, and whether in the event of settlement, any fishery that might be established could be of advantage to the colonists.

The Viceroy states nothing about the results of the *San Pablo's* cruise; but it appears that she visited San Félix and returned safely to port.—ED.]

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

(I—XIV)

I.

(*Reference*: vol. I, pp. 24–30.)

SECRET ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS

issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Captain The Honourable JOHN BYRON, commanding H.M.S. *Dolphin*.

By &c[a].

P.R.O. Adm. 2, [1332.]

YOU are hereby required and directed to proceed with the Ship you command to Plymouth, and, upon your arrival, to take under your Command His Majesty's Frigate the *Tamar* (whose Captain is directed to follow your orders): and so soon as the Company of the *Dolphin*, and such of the men belonging to the *Tamar* as have been entered in lieu of others discharged by our Order, shall have been paid Two Months Wages advance, You are with the first opportunity of wind and weather to proceed down Channel with the said Ship and Frigate; and having got clear of the Land, you are to open the enclosed sealed Packet and follow such instructions as are therein contained for your farther proceedings.

Given &c[a] the 17th of June, 1764.

EGMONT.
CARYSFORT.
HOWE.

To

The Honorable John Byron,
Captain of His Majesty's ship
Dolphin—in the Downes.

By &c[a]

P. STEPHENS.

(*In the Enclosed Packet.*)

SEALED ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS

[issued by the Lords Commissioners of The Admiralty, to Captain The Honourable John Byron, H.M.S. *Dolphin*, for his Voyage round the World.]

By &c[a].

P.R.O. Adm. 2, [1332.]

Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this Nation as a Maritime Power, to the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the Trade and Navigation

thereof, than to make Discoveries of Countries hitherto unknown, and to attain a perfect knowledge of the distant Parts of the British Empire which, though formerly discovered by His Majesty's subjects, have been as yet but imperfectly explored; and Whereas there is reason to believe that lands and islands of great extent hitherto unvisited by any European Power may be found in the Atlantick Ocean between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanick Streight, within Latitudes convenient for navigation and in the Climates adapted to the Produce of Commodities usefull in Commerce; and Whereas His Majesty's Island called Pepys Island, as likewise His Majesty's Islands called Falklands Islands, lying within the said Tract, notwithstanding the first discovery and possession thereof taken by Cowley in 1686, and notwithstanding the visitation thereof by Dampier and other British navigators, have never yet been so sufficiently surveyed as that an accurate judgement may be formed of their Coasts or Products; And, moreover, as the country of New Albion in North America first discovered and taken possession of by Sir Francis Drake in the year 1579, has never been examined with that care which it deserves, notwithstanding frequent recommendations of that undertaking by the said Sir Francis Drake, Dampier, and many other mariners of great Experience who have thought it probable that a passage might be found between the Latitudes of 38° and 54° from that Coast into Hudson's Bay: His Majesty, taking the Premisses into his Royal consideration and conceiving no Conjuncture so proper for an Enterprise of this nature as a Time of profound Peace, which His Kingdoms at present happily enjoy, has thought fit to make those attempts which are specified in the following Instructions; and, confiding in the Skill and Prudence of you the Honorable Captain John Byron, has signified His Pleasure that you shall be employed therein, with full Powers to undertake, prosecute, and conduct the same[1].

You are in consequence thereof hereby required and directed to proceed with the Ship you command, together with the *Tamar* frigate (whose Captain is directed to follow your Orders) to the Island of Madeira, and having taken on board such a Quantity of Wine as may be sufficient for the use of the Companies of the said Ship and Frigate, you are to make the best of your way to Rio Janeiro on the Coast of Brazil, where you are to compleat your Water and take in such a supply of Provisions as you shall judge necessary, and may be able to procure.

You are then to put to Sea without loss of time, and stretch over to the Cape of Good Hope; and having compleated your Provisions and Water there also, and given such Refreshment as

[1] This preamble was inserted, abridged and mutilated, at pp. i–ii of the General Introduction to vol. 1 of Hawkesworth's work [Bibl. no. 51].

you shall have judged necessary to the Companies of the said Ship and Frigate, you are to proceed Westward to His Majesty's Island called Pepys's Island, which was first discovered by Cowley between the Latitude of 47° and the Latitude of 48° South, about Eighty Leagues from the Continent of South America[1], stretching occasionally in your way thither as far to the Southward as the Latitude of 53°, and searching diligently yourself, and directing the Captain of the *Tamar* to search diligently also, for any Land or Islands that may be situated between the Cape of Good Hope and Pepys's Island within the Latitudes of 33° and 53° South.

In case you shall discover any Land or Islands in your passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Pepys's Island which have not already been discovered or taken notice of by former navigators, You are to endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship with the Inhabitants, if you shall find any, presenting them with such Trifles as they may value, and shewing them all possible civility and respect: taking caution however, if they be numerous, not to be surprised, but to be constantly on your guard against any accidents. You are also to make purchases, with the consent of such Inhabitants, and take possession of convenient situations in the Country in the name of the King of Great Britain: But if no Inhabitants shall be found on such Lands or Islands, You must then take possession of them for His Majesty by setting up proper Marks and Inscriptions as first Discoverers and Possessors.

You are to ascertain the Latitude and Longitude in which such Land or Islands are situated, and to observe the height, direction and course of the Tydes and Currents, the depth and soundings of the Sea; the Shoals and Rocks; the Bearings of Head Lands and Variation of the Needle; and also to survey and make Plans and Charts of such of the Coasts, Bays, and Harbours as you shall judge necessary.

But if you shall be of opinion upon your departure from Rio Janeiro that from the season being too far advanced, or from any other Circumstance which cannot now be foreseen, you shall be better able to perform the Service upon which you are employed by shaping your Course directly to Pepys's Island, and proceeding from thence upon discoveries to the Eastward, than by going to the Cape of Good Hope and proceeding upon Discoveries from thence to the Westward, you are at liberty to proceed to Pepys's Island without touching at the Cape of

[1] No land exists in the position assigned to Pepys' Island, nor anywhere nearer than Cape Blanco on the Patagonian coast, to the W., and the Falklands on the S. Capt. Cook thought he sighted it, on the 4th of January, 1769, in the *Endeavour*, and "bore down to be Certain, but discovered our mistake" [Bibl. no. 30, p. 33]. What Cowley saw must have been some part of the Falklands. *Cf.* Puig's account of a phantom isle, in vol. 1, pp. 203–6.

Good Hope accordingly; And upon your arrival there you are to investigate the said Island and explore with great diligence and care its Coasts, Harbours and Bays, and to survey and make Charts and Plans thereof in the best manner you can, ascertaining also the Latitude and Longitude in which it is situated, and making proper Observations of the Head Lands, Tydes, Currents, Soundings, Shoals and Rocks, variation of the Needle, and whatever else may be either usefull or curious.

Having so done you are to proceed Southward to His Majesty's Islands called Falklands Islands, which are described to lie between the Latitudes of 50° 00′ and 53° 00′ South, about the same distance from the Continent as Pepys's Island: And having made the like surveys and observations at those Islands as you are above directed to make at Pepys's Island, you are to proceed Three Hundred Leagues to the Eastward between the Latitudes of 33° 00′ and 53° 00′ South in order to make discovery of any Land or Islands that may be situated between those Latitudes and within that distance from Pepys's and Falklands Islands: And upon falling in with any such Land or Islands which have not been hitherto discovered or taken notice of, You are to take possession of them in the manner before mentioned.

You are to cruize for that purpose until you shall judge it necessary to return to Pepys's Island with the Ship and Frigate under your Command, in order to lay them up during the Winter Season, it being our intention to send a Storeship thither, laden with a sufficient quantity of Provisions and Necessaries to enable you to proceed in the ensuing Season upon farther Discoveries.

But if, contrary to our expectation, you shall not be able to find at Pepys's Island a convenient Harbour for the Ship and Frigate during the Winter Season, You are to proceed to Port Desire or such other Place on the Continent as you shall judge more proper for securing them, and refreshing their Companies during the said Season, leaving in such case Directions at Pepys's Island for the Master of the Storeship to follow you; which Directions may be inclosed in a Bottle, and buried Two feet deep at the distance of Six feet on the South side of a large Cross which you are to erect as a Mark of your having been there, and as a Guide to him to find the said Directions.

But as the Master of the Storeship may perhaps be unable to find Pepys's Island, We shall direct him, in such case, after having searched a reasonable time for it, to proceed to Port Desire in order to join or get Intelligence of you; And you are therefore (whether you winter at Pepys's Island or not) to go to Port Desire, or send the *Tamar* thither, to leave such Directions buried Six feet South behind a Cross as before mentioned as may enable the Master of the Storeship to find you.— And, to the end that ye may know each other, we shall direct him, upon discovering

the Ship and Frigate under your Command, to make the signals hereunto annexed, which are to be answered on your part in the manner therein mentioned.

When the Storeship shall have joined you, you are to take out the Provisions and Necessaries with which she is laden and distribute them to the Ship and Frigate under your Command, and then discharge the vessel and leave her Master to pursue such Orders as he shall have received from us, giving him a Certificate of the time of his being discharged; unless you shall judge that it may be for the good of the service on which you are employed that you should keep the vessel with you; in which case you are at liberty to detain her so long as she may be useful to you.

When the Season will admit, you are again to put to Sea with the Ship and Frigate, and proceed to New Albion, on the Western Coast of North America, endeavouring to fall in with the said Coast in the Latitude of 38° or 38° 30′ North, where Sir Francis Drake, who was the first Discoverer of that Country, found a convenient Harbour for his Ship, and Refreshment for his People.

You are to search the said Coast with great care and diligence from the Latitude above mentioned, as far to the Northward as you shall find it practicable, making all such observations of the said Head Lands, Harbours, Bays, Inlets &c[a] as may be useful to Navigation, and endeavouring by all proper means to cultivate friendship and alliance with the Inhabitants, where there are any, by presenting them with Trifles &c[a] as mentioned in the former part of these Instructions.

And in case you shall find any probability of exploring a Passage from the said Coast of New Albion to the Eastern side of North America through Hudson's Bay, you are most diligently to pursue it and return to England that way, touching at such Place or Places in North America, for the Refreshment of your men, and for supplying the Ship and Frigate with Provisions, Wood and Water, as you shall judge proper.

But, on the other hand, if you shall see no probability of finding a Passage from the Coast of New Albion into Hudson's Bay, you are to leave that Coast while you have a sufficient quantity of Provisions left to enable you to proceed to the Coast of Asia, China, or the Dutch settlements in the East Indies, And you are to proceed to the Coast of Asia, China, or the Dutch Settlements accordingly, touching or not touching at Bengal or any of the English Settlements as you shall judge most convenient; And having put the Ship and Frigate into a proper condition to return to Europe, you are to make the best of your way with them to England round the Cape of Good Hope, repairing to Spithead, and sending to our Secretary an Account of your arrival and proceedings.

If you shall find it necessary in your passage from Pepys's

Island to the Coast of New Albion, to touch upon the Coast of Patagonia, or Terre Magellanique, either to obtain Refreshments for your Men, or from any unforseen accident, You are to make enquiry after the People who were shipwrecked in His Majesty's Ship the *Wager* and left upon that Coast, and use your best endeavours to bring them home with you, taking all possible care to avoid giving any Kind of Umbrage or Offence to the Spaniards, and continuing no longer there than shall be absolutely necessary.

But forasmuch as in an undertaking of this important Nature several Emergencies may arise, not to be foreseen, and therefore not to be provided for by Instructions beforehand, You are, in all such cases, to proceed as you shall judge may be most advantageous to the Service on which you are employed.

Given under our hands the 17th of June, 1764.

EGMONT.
CARYSFORT.
HOWE.

To

The Honorable John Byron,
Captain of His Majesty's Ship the *Dolphin*.

By &c[a]

P. S.

Signals.

The Storeship, upon discovering the *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, or either of them, shall make herself known by hoisting a Dutch ensign at her Foretopgallant Mast-head; which shall be answered by the *Dolphin*, or *Tamar*, by a Dutch ensign at the Main Top Gallant Mast-head.

The Storeship shall then haul down the Dutch Ensign from the Fore Top Gallant mast-head, and hoist an English Ensign at her Main Topgallant Mast-head; and the *Dolphin* or *Tamar* shall farther answer by hauling down the Dutch Ensign from the main topgallant mast-head, and hoisting an English Ensign at the Foretopgallant mast-head.

SECRET ORDER

issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to Captain The Honourable John Byron.

By &c[a].

Whereas we have caused the *Florida* Storeship to be purchased for His Majesty, and to be laden with such a quantity of Provisions as we hope will enable you to prosecute and complete the

P.R.O. Adm. **2**, [1332].

Object of our Instructions to you dated the 17th of June last; And Whereas we have directed Mr Robert Deans, who is appointed Master of the said Storeship, to proceed without loss of time to join you at Pepys Island, or, not finding you there, at Port Desire, agreeably to what is mentioned in our said Instructions; You are hereby required and directed to distribute on board the Ship and Frigate under your Command the Provisions with which the said Storeship is laden, in such proportions as you shall judge proper, notwithstanding the said Provisions have been consigned to Sir John Lindsay, or the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships in the Gulf of Mexico, in order to conceal their real destination.

When you have unladen the said Storeship, you are to direct Mr Deans to return to England and to repair to this Office as expeditiously as possible with such Dispatches as you may think proper to send by him, as well as to give Us an account of his proceedings; unless you shall judge it to be expedient and necessary to take the Storeship with you in the prosecution of your Voyage, which you are hereby authorised to do; And we do in that Case also empower you to give Mr Deans a commission to be Lieutenant instead of Master of the Storeship, as a Reward for his past service in having joined you (if you shall be satisfied with his conduct and proceedings) and as an encouragement to him to prosecute the Voyage with you: And you are at the same time to declare to the Petty Officers and Foremast Men of the said Storeship, in order to encourage them also to prosecute the Voyage with cheerfulness, that they shall have the same allowance of Wages as the Petty Officers and Men belonging to the *Dolphin* and *Tamar* Frigate.

Given &c. the 11th of September 1764.

EGMONT.
CARYSFORT.
HOWE.

To

The Honourable John Byron,
Captain of His Majᵗˢ Ship the *Dolphin*.

SECRET ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS

issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Mr Robert Deans, Master of the *Florida*, Storeship.

By &cᵃ.

P.R.O. Adm. 2, [1332].

Notwithstanding any Orders which you have received or may receive from the Navy Board or from the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy, You are hereby required and directed to make the best of your way to Sᵗ Iago, one of the Cape

de Verd Islands, and use the utmost dispatch in completing the Water, and taking on board such Refreshments as may be needful for the Company of the Storeship you command; And having so done you are to put to Sea again without a moment's loss of time, and proceed to the Southward until you have lost sight of the Island of St Iago and then (and upon no account sooner) you are to open the inclosed sealed Packet and follow such Instructions as you will find therein for your farther proceedings.

If thro' sickness or any other accident you shall be unable to carry these and the inclosed sealed Instructions into execution You are to be very careful to leave them with your Mate, or the next person in command to you, who is, in such case, hereby enjoined to observe and execute them strictly, that the Service may not suffer by any inability on your part; And as an Inducement to him so to do, he will be sure to meet with such Encouragement and Reward as may be suitable to his diligence and services.

Given &c^{a} the 11th of September 1764.

EGMONT.
CARYSFORT.
HOWE.

To

Mr Robert Deans,
Master of the *Florida* Storeship.

By &c^{a}

Php. Stephens.

Sealed enclosure

from the Same to the Same.

By &c^{a}.

Whereas we have directed Captain Byron, who is employed on a particular service, to repair with His Majesty's Ship the *Dolphin* and the *Tamar* Frigate to Pepys Island (which is said to lye in about the Latitude of 47° 30′ South at the distance of Eighty or Ninety Leagues from the Coast of Patagonia) and to wait there with the said Ship and Frigate for the Supply of Provisions which we have ordered to be shipped on board the Storeship you command, and which in order to conceal its real destination hath been consigned by the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy to Sir John Lindsay, or the Senior Officer of the King's Ships for the time being in the Gulf of Mexico; You are hereby required and directed to make the best of your way to join Captain Byron at Pepys Island, and to dispose of the Cargo of the said Storeship notwithstanding its consignment as before mentioned, in such manner as he shall direct, and follow his Orders for your farther proceedings.

And that you may the more readily find Pepys Island, You are first to make Cape Blanco, which is situated on the Coast of Patagonia, in about the Latitude of 47° 20′ South, and then proceed to the Eastward about Eighty or Ninety Leagues, between the Latitude of 47° and the Latitude of 48°, in search of the said Island; And having discovered it and not finding the *Dolphin* or *Tamar* Frigate there, you are carefully to look for a Cross which we have directed Captain Byron to erect as a mark of his having been at the Island if he sails from thence before you arrive, and as a guide to you to find the Instructions, which he will in such case have left for you buried in a Bottle Two feet under the surface of the Earth, Six feet behind the said Cross, on the South side of it.

If you shall not be able to find Pepys Island after having cruized a reasonable time in search of it between the Latitudes before mentioned; Or, having discovered and arrived at it, shall not join the *Dolphin* or *Tamar* Frigate, nor find the Cross above mentioned; You are in either of those Cases to proceed to Port Desire, laid down by Sir John Narborough as a very good Harbour, about Twenty Eight miles to the Southward of Cape Blanco, on the Coast of Patagonia, where you will probably join the *Dolphin*, or *Tamar*, or both, or at least find a Cross set up by Captain Byron as a mark of his having been there, if he should sail from thence before you arrive; Behind which Cross you will find Instructions for joining him, buried as before mentioned in a Bottle Two feet under the surface of the Earth at the distance of Six feet South from it; And you are to proceed to join him without loss of time agreeably thereto.

And to the end that you may know the *Dolphin* or *Tamar*, or make yourself known to them in case of seeing them, or either of them, at a distance; You are to make the signals annexed to these Instructions, which will be answered by them in the manner, therein directed.

But if, contrary to all expectations, you shall not join Captain Byron, nor get any Intelligence of him at Pepys Island, or Port Desire, you are to wait at the latter Four months in expectation of being joined by him, or of hearing from him: And at the expiration of that time, if you shall not have seen him nor heard anything of him, you are to return to the first Port you can make in England, and come to this Office, without a moment's loss of time, to give us an account of your proceedings.

It being of the greatest consequence that these instructions should be kept extremely secret, You are not to divulge them to any of your Officers or Men, lest they should be discovered, if by accident you should be obliged to touch at the Brazils, or any other Place: But if, through a series of bad weather or unexpected Difficulties, the Officers or Men should express an uneasiness at being kept in ignorance of the Place to which the Storeship

is bound, You are to endeavour to content them and to encourage them to persevere with you in prosecuting the Voyage by giving them (as you are hereby empower'd to do, and more particularly the person who is next in Command to you) the strongest Assurances that their Diligence, Perseverance and Obedience to you their Superior Officer, shall meet with a suitable Reward from Us. —And you will also be assured that your own diligence and perseverance in the execution of these Instructions will secure to you Preferment, and such other Marks of our Favour as your Merit may entitle you to.

Given &c[a] the 11th of September, 1764.

EGMONT.
CARYSFORT.
HOWE.

[*Annexure.*—Signals as on p. 437.]

To

Mr Robert Deans,
Master of His Majesty's Storeship the *Florida*.

By &c[a]

Php. Stephens.

II.

(*Reference*: vol. I, pp. 25–36 &c.)

SECRET ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS

issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Captain John MacBride, commanding H.M.S. *Jason*.

By &c[a].

WHEREAS His Majesty was pleased to direct in the year 1764 that Commodore Byron in the *Dolphin*, with the *Tamar* and *Florida* storeship, should proceed to His Majesty's Islands called Falklands and Pepys Islands, situate in the Atlantic Ocean near the Streights of Magellan, in order to make better surveys thereof than had yet been made, and to determine a place or places most proper for a new Settlement or Settlements thereon; And whereas the said Commodore Byron did on the 24th of February 1765 send back the *Florida* storeship which arrived at Portsmouth on the 21st June last with surveys of great part of Falklands Islands, and with accounts that he had visited and explored the said Islands as far as the Season and the farther intended employment of the ships under his Command could admit; that he had

P.R.O. Adm. 2, [1332].

examined and surveyed the Coast thereof from the Western part which he fell in with in the Latitude of 51°, 08′ South to the Eastern extremity of it extending near four degrees of Longitude, in all which extent he discovered no signs of any people, either then subsisting or who had ever set foot thereon; that he had fixed upon a very capacious and secure Harbour to which he gave the name of Port Egmont, as the most proper for the forming a settlement there, at which Place vegetables and other refreshments very conducive to the health of seamen after a long Voyage were to be found in great abundance; and that he had erected Marks of Possession (more particularly upon the Shores of the Harbour before mentioned) and had made and planted Gardens for the accommodation of such persons as might be sent from Great Britain in consequence of their previous Step;

And Whereas His Majesty, upon full consideration of the Information above mentioned, has signified to us His Pleasure that another Embarkation shall be made as soon as the season of the year will permit, in order to carry into farther execution the said Settlement at Port Egmont upon Falklands Island aforesaid, and that there be employed on that Service a Frigate of 32 guns, a Sloop, and a Storeship carrying a Block-House of Timber ready framed so as to be set up immediately for the present security and the more convenient Habitation of the Persons who are to remain upon the Island;

And Whereas we think fit that you shall be entrusted with the conduct of this important Service, and have with that view caused the ship you command to be fitted, victualled, and stored in all respects proper for the occasion, as also the *Carcass* Sloop (whose Captain is directed to obey your Orders) and the *Experiment* Storeship (whose Captain will be directed to follow you with all possible expedition);—

You are, in pursuance of His Majesty's Pleasure, hereby required and directed to proceed without loss of time in the ship you command, together with the said Sloop *Carcass*, to Port Egmont in Falklands Island aforesaid, and for your guidance in finding the said Island, as well as for your information of such parts of it as Commodore Byron has visited and surveyed, and particularly the Port above mentioned, you will herewith receive copies of such Charts and Surveys thereof as have been transmitted to us by the said Commodore.

Upon your arrival at Port Egmont you are immediately to proceed to compleat the Settlement begun there last year, which is to be accomplished in all Events; and, so soon as the *Experiment* Storeship shall join you in the said Port, you are to cause the Block House of Timber, wch has been framed in England, and will be sent out in her, to be erected on such spot of ground as you shall judge most proper for the defence of the said Settlement.

You are to cause the twenty-five Marines including Officers,

which we have directed you to bear as part of the Complement of the *Jason*[1], or so many of them as may be found necessary or expedient, from time to time, to be posted in the said Block House for the defence of the Settlement, and to remain there 'til they shall be relieved, which is intended to be done in the ensuing year.

You are to cause such of the carriage guns belonging to the *Jason* or *Carcass* to be mounted in the said Block House as you may judge necessary for its defence, and to be careful that the people posted therein be constantly supplied with proper quantities of Ammunition, Provisions and Necessaries of all kinds.

You are to take care that at least one of the ships be constantly stationed, as well during the Winter as the Summer, in Port Egmont, so as to be able in the most effectual manner to protect and assist the said Block-House, Garrison and Settlement, and you are to employ the rest of the ships and their Crews, from time to time as occasion may require, in making the most perfect Discoveries, and compleating the Surveys, as well of the Coasts and Harbours as of the interior Parts of the said Island, or Islands adjacent thereto.

You are also to make the like Discovery and Survey of His Majesty's Island called Pepy's Island, first seen by Capt. Cowley in his Voyage round the Globe in the year 1684, and by him said to lie in the Latitude of 47° 00′ South, which, for want of time, Commodore Byron was not able to explore, And you are to erect proper Marks of Possession, and make and plant Gardens thereon against the following year, and also to erect a Block House there and post a few men therein, if the conveniencies of proper Harbours, Timber, Water, &c[a]., shall invite, and no circumstances at present unforseen shall render this part of your Instructions with respect to the Block House on Pepys Island inexpedient to be carried into immediate execution[2].

If any savage People should be found inhabiting any of the said Islands, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that they shall be treated with the greatest Prudence and Humanity, invited by Presents and kind usage to Trade, and prevailed upon by mild methods to enter into Treaty, and to acknowledge His Majesty's Title.

If any lawless Persons should happen to be found seated in any part of the said Islands, they are to be compelled either to quit the said Island, or to take the Oaths, acknowledge and submit themselves to His Majesty's Government as Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain.

And if, contrary to expectation, the subjects of any Foreign Power in amity with Great Britain should, under any real or pretended

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[1] *Cf.* vol. I, pp. 24–5, 28, etc.

[2] As Pepys' Island did not exist, this clause in MacBride's instructions must have seemed puzzling to him. See note on p. 434.

authority, have taken upon themselves to make any Settlement of any kind or nature whatsoever, upon any part or parts, either of the said Falklands or Pepys Islands, you are to visit such settlement and remonstrate against their Proceedings, acquainting them that the said Islands having been first discovered by the subjects of the Crown of England, sent out by the Government thereof for that Purpose, and of Right belonging to His Majesty, and His Majesty having given Orders for the Settlement thereof, the subjects of no other Powers can have any Title to establish themselves therein, without the King's permission; And acquainting them further that you are directed to warn them off the said Islands and to exhort them to remove themselves with their Effects within a time limited, not exceeding six months from the day of the notice so given. And you are to warn them off the said Islands and exhort them to remove themselves and their effects accordingly[1].

But His Majesty, from his humane disposition, and from his sincere desire to maintain the Friendship and Harmony now so happily subsisting between all the European Powers, having been pleased to signify His permission that if any such Persons under the last description should not be able to find the means of transporting themselves and their Effects aforesaid, they may be taken off in His own ships, where they shall be treated with all tenderness and care and be protected in every respect from Injury, either to their Property or Persons, in their Return to the Dominions of that Power to which they may belong; You are in such case to cause them to be taken off the said Island or Islands in His Majesty's ships under your Command, and that they be treated with tenderness and care, and protected in every respect from Injury to their Property or Persons accordingly, landing them at some convenient Port in the Dominions of the Power to which they may belong, and victualling them as the ship's Companys during their continuance on board.

The same humanity and moderation have farther induced His Majesty to signify His pleasure that in case any subjects of any Foreign Power should, contrary to expectation, be so found settled or attempting to make any settlement upon the said Islands, or any of them, and should, from Rashness or Ignorance, refuse to take notice of the warning hereby directed to be given for their removal, or obstinately disobey the orders hereby directed to be given, or attempt to maintain themselves by Force, the Commanders of His Majesty's ships (except in the settlement of

[1] This order was executed by MacBride on the 4th of December, 1766, when he took the *Jason* into Berkeley Sound and discovered M. de Bougainville's settlement there called Port Louis. His despatch containing a report of his proceedings on that occasion is in the Record Office [Adm.—In-letters 2116] and affords both interesting and amusing reading.

Port Egmont only, which they are positively commanded to make and to maintain in all Events) shall carefully avoid proceeding to measures of Hostility or Violence, unless compelled thereto by Hostility or Violence first committed upon them, and in their own defence, and that in such Event, one of the Ships shall forthwith be dispatched to England to inform His Majesty of every circumstance relating thereto. You are to be very careful that His Majesty's pleasure on this head be most strictly carried into execution.

But in case it shall be found that a Settlement is actually made by any European Power at Port Egmont, where Possession was before taken by Commodore Byron in His Majesty's Name last year as before mentioned, and that the Exhortations to remove from such settlement as above should prove ineffectual, You are in that case nevertheless to land and make a joint Settlement, taking great care at the same time to avoid any Act of Hostility against such European settlers, and acquainting the Officer commanding there that the future Rights and Possession of that Port and Island are to be referred to and finally settled by His Majesty and the Sovereign of such Officer and subjects there established, respectively.

In case no such Event should happen as might occasion the necessity of an immediate dispatch (which there is no reason to expect) you are nevertheless, so soon as the ships under your Command shall have coasted round Falklands Islands, inspected those parts which Commodore Byron had not time to visit, and shall have obtained the best information they can procure of Pepy's Island, to send to England the Storeship, or Sloop, as you may judge most proper, with an account of your whole proceedings and copies of such Sketches or Surveys as you may have been able to make within that time for our information, directing the Commander of the Vessel, by whom you send your Dispatches to land at the first convenient port he can make, and bring those Dispatches to this office as expeditiously as possible, having first directed the Officers and Crew of the said Vessel not to divulge to any body from whence they came.

Given &c^{a} the 26th of Sepr 1765.

EGMONT.
CHA^{S} SAUNDERS.
A. KEPPEL.

To

Capt Macbride,
Commander of His Maj$^{y's}$ Ship the *Jason*.

By &c^{a}

Php. Stephens.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

By &c[a].

Whereas we have caused His Majesty's Storeship the *Florida* to be laden with Provisions and Naval Stores for the use of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under your Command, and have directed Lieut. Deans, who commands the said Storeship, to proceed with all possible dispatch to Port Egmont, with the said Provisions and Stores, and dispose of them as you shall direct, notwithstanding they have been consigned to the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships at Pensacola in order to conceal their real destination; You are hereby required and directed to cause the said Stores and Provisions to be distributed on board the said Ships and Vessels under your Command, or deposited in the Block-House which you have been instructed to erect, in such proportion as you shall judge most proper.

If the *Carcass* Sloop shall not have been dispatched to England before you receive these Orders, you are to keep her under your Command until you are relieved by a Frigate and Sloop, which we intend to send from hence to Port Egmont in the month of August or beginning of September next for that purpose.

You are to send the *Experiment* Storeship to England as soon after the receipt hereof as possible (if you should not have already sent her home) with full accounts of your proceedings, and the discoveries you shall have made to that time, together with Duplicates of the Dispatches that may have been sent, if you shall have sent any, by the *Carcass* Sloop or any other conveyance.

And, so soon as you shall have been able to unlade the *Florida* Storeship, you are to send her also to England, with Duplicates of your former Dispatches, and farther accounts of your proceedings to the time of her departure from you.

You are to direct the Lieutenants commanding the said Storeships to land at the first convenient Port they can make in England, and repair to this office as expeditiously as may be with the Dispatches committed to their care.

Given &c[a] the 10th of January 1766.

EGMONT.
CHA[S] SAUNDERS.
A. KEPPEL.

To

Captain Macbride,
Commander of His Majesty's Ship the *Jason*,
or Senior Officer at Port Egmont, Falkland's
Islands.

By &c[a]
P. S.

[*Sent by Lieu[t] Deans of the "Florida" Storeship. Duplicate sent to Lieu[t] Deans at Gibraltar, by the Grace cutter the 17th of March* 1766: *signed as the original.*]

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

By &c[a].

Whereas we think fit that the Ship you command, or the *Carcass* Sloop, shall be relieved this year, and have appointed the *Swift* Sloop, commanded by Captain Raynor, to supply her place; You are hereby required and directed to return to England so soon as conveniently may be, in the Ship you command, provided the *Carcass* Sloop is in a condition to remain abroad until a sloop is sent out next year to supply her place, taking care, in such case, to leave with Captain Raynor or the Senior Officer for the time being, the inclosed Copy of our Secret Instructions to you dated the 26th of September 1765, and giving him such farther direction as from the experience you have had, and the discoveries you may have made, you shall judge necessary for the Protection and Security of Falklands Isles, and for the better enabling him to carry into farther execution our Secret Instructions aforementioned.

But if the *Carcass* Sloop is not in a condition to be trusted abroad another year, you are in that case to send her to England with a particular account of your proceedings and Discoveries, and continue yourself in the *Jason* at or about Falklands Isles until another Ship or Sloop is sent out to relieve you.

But whereas there is reason to believe, from the Advices we have received, that a Settlement has been made or attempted to be made by Europeans in the Bay of Acaron, supposed to be the same that Commodore Byron has named Berkeley Sound, on the Eastern extremity of His Majesty's Isles abovementioned, which Settlement might easily escape your Observation in your first Investigation of those Isles; You are therefore to proceed yourself into the said Bay or Sound before you return to England, or before you send home the *Carcass*, in order to satisfy yourself thoroughly, and to enable you to give us information, whether any such Settlement has been formed, or any attempt made to establish one there, or on the Coast adjacent thereto, taking great care if there is such a Settlement to conduct yourself in all respects conformable to His Majesty's Pleasure signified to you by Our Secret Instructions beforementioned.

And whereas we have caused a party of Marines to be embarked on board the *Swift* Sloop in order to relieve the Marines doing duty in the Block-House at Port Egmont, You are to cause the last mentioned Marines to be relieved accordingly and brought home in the *Jason*, unless the *Carcass* should come to England first, in which case you are to send home by her the officers of those Marines and as many of the Private Men as she

can conveniently receive, and continue to bear the rest on board the *Jason* as part of her Complement.

Given &c[a] the 13th of September 1766.

CHA[S] SAUNDERS.
A. KEPPEL.
W[M] MEREDITH.

(*With inclosure*)

To

Cap[t] Macbride,
Commander of His Majesty's Ship the *Jason*,
at Port Egmont.

By &c[a]

Php. Stephens.

III.

(*Reference* : vol. I, pp. 87–95, and 98.)

SECRET ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS

issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Capt. Henry I'Anson succeeded by Capt. Anthony Hunt of H.M.S. *Tamar*, Capt. Raynor of H.M.S. *Swift*, and Lieut. George Teer commanding H.M. Storeship *Florida*: 1767.

1.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Captain Henry I'Anson, commanding H.M.S. *Tamar*.

By &c[a].

P.R.O. Adm. Sec. Out-Letters $\frac{2}{94}$.

YOU are hereby required and directed forthwith to proceed in the Frigate you command to Plymouth and use your utmost diligence in taking on board a Party of Marines, agreeable to the Order you have already received on that head.

Having so done you are to make the best of your way to the Island of Madeira, where you are to take in, without loss of time, a sufficient quantity of Wine for the use of the Frigate's Company.

If you find, upon your arrival at Madeira, the *Florida* Storeship there, you are to take her under your command, Lieu[t] Teers being directed to follow your Orders; Or, if you find that the Storeship arrived before you and that she sailed from thence, you

are in either case to open the inclosed pacquet and proceed, with the first opportunity of Wind and Weather, agreeable to the Order therein contained.

If the storeship shall not have reached the Island of Madeira so soon as the Frigate you command, You are, in that case, to wait ten days for her in order to take her under your command; But, if she does not arrive in that time, you are then to open the said inclosed pacquet and proceed as above directed, leaving a Letter, to be delivered to Lieu[t] Teers upon his arrival, to acquaint him with your departure.

Given &c[a] 8th October 1767.

E[D] Hawke.
Geo. Yonge.
P[Y] Brett[1].

Cap[t] I'Anson—*Tamar*—Dounes.
By &c[a]
P[hilip] S[tephens].

Enclosed Packet.

From the same to the same.

By &c[a].

You are hereby required and directed to proceed, with all possible expedition, in the Frigate you command (together with the *Florida* Storeship if she shall have joined you) to Port Egmont in Falklands Islands; And, upon your arrival, you are to deliver the inclosed Pacquet to Captain Raynor of the *Swift* or the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels there and follow his orders for your farther proceedings. But if you find that the Storeship is likely to make her passage in a shorter time by going separately than by keeping Company with the *Tamar*, you are, in such case, to permit Lieu[t] Teers to part Company and make the best of his way with the Storeship to Port Egmont. P.R.O. Adm. Sec. Out-Letters $\frac{2}{94}$.

Given &c[a] the 8th of October 1767.

E[D] Hawke.
Geo. Yonge.
P[Y] Brett.

To
Cap[t] I'Anson—*Tamar*.
By &c[a]
P. S.

[1] Sir Peircy Brett, at this time an admiral, had sailed under Commodore Anson in his memorable circumnavigation, and it was he who made many of the original drawings from which the plates in Walter's account of that voyage were engraved. He was a Lord Commissioner from 1766 to 1770.

Inner enclosed Packet.

From the same to Captain Raynor.

By &c[a].

P.R.O. Adm. Sec. Out-Letters $\frac{2}{94}$.

Whereas we have appointed His Majesty's Frigate the *Tamar* to relieve the *Carcass* Sloop, and have caused a supply of Provisions to be put on board the *Florida* Storeship for the use of His Majesty's Ships employed at Falkland's Isles; And have directed the Commander of the said Frigate and Storeship to make the best of his way to join you at Port Egmont; You are hereby required and directed, upon their arrival, to take the said Frigate under your Command and employ her as you shall judge proper in the execution of the Orders you are under: And, so soon as she shall be so, and the Storeship shall be cleared of the Provisions and Stores consigned to you and shall have received in return such unserviceable or perishable Provisions and Stores as you think fit to send home in her, You are to direct the Captain of the *Carcass* to take the Storeship under his Command and proceed in conjunction with her to Spithead, sending our Secretary an account of his arrival and proceedings and waiting there for farther Orders.

And whereas we have caused a Party of Marines to be embarked on board the *Tamar* in order to relieve the Party of Marines now doing duty at Falkland's Islands; You are hereby further required and directed to send home the latter in the *Carcass* Sloop and Storeship, and to cause the former to be borne in the *Swift* and *Tamar* in such proportions as you shall judge best for the Service.

Given &c[a] the 8th of October 1767.

E[D] Hawke.
Geo. Yonge.
P[Y] Brett.

To
Cap[t] Raynor,
Commander of His Majesty's Sloop *Swift*; or the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels at Falkland's Isles.

By &c[a]

P. S.

By the *Tamar*. Duplicate by the Storeship.

2.

Capt. Henry I'Anson, H.M.S. *Tamar*, to Philip Stephens, Esq., Secretary to the Admiralty.

Tamar, Dover Road,
11th Octr 1767.

Sir,

I have this moment received their Lordships' Orders to proceed to Plym^{o} in the Frigate under my Command; which I shall do on the next Tide, without loss of time, and Punctually execute their Lordships' Directions.— I am, Sir, Your most Obedient and obliged Humble Servt, P.R.O. Adm. Sec. In-Letters [1986].

H. I'Anson.

To
Philip Stephens Esq.

3.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Lieut. Geo. Teer.

[Dated Septr 9th 1767 appointing him to command H.M. Storeship the *Florida*, then at Deptford, and allotting to her a Master, Mate, Surgeon, Boatswain, Carpenter, Gunner, commander's servant, and twenty-two able seamen—complement 30 all told.] P.R.O. Adm. Sec. Out-Letters $\frac{2}{94}$.

4.

From the same to the same.

[Of even date: Directing Lieut. Teer at Deptford to take in stores and provisions, fall down to Galleons Reach for guns and gunner's stores, and then proceed to the Nore for further orders.] As above.

5.

From the same to the same.

By &c^{a}.

You are hereby required and directed to receive on board His Majesty's Storeship under your Command such Naval Stores and Provisions as shall be sent on board her by the Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy and Victualling, for the use of His Majesty's Ships at Falklands Islands, and deliver the same upon your arrival there according to their consignment. As above.

Given &c^{a} 16th Sepr 1767.

C. Townshend.
Geo. Yonge.
Peircy Brett.

Lieu^{t} Teer—*Florida* Storeship—Deptford.
By &c.
P. S.

6.

From the same to the same.

By &c[a].

P.R.O. Adm. Sec. Out-Letters 2/94.

You are hereby required and directed to proceed with the utmost dispatch in the Storeship you command to the Island of Madeira, where you are to take on board, without loss of time, such a quantity of Wine as may be necessary for the use of the Ship's Company; And, in case you find the *Tamar* there, you are to put yourself under the command of Cap[t] I'Anson and follow his orders for your further proceedings.

If you learn, upon your arrival at Madeira, that the *Tamar* has been there and that she has sailed from thence, You are, in such case, to open the inclosed pacquet and proceed agreeable to the orders therein contained.

But, if the *Tamar* shall not have reached the Island of Madeira so soon as the Storeship you command, You are to wait ten days for her; And, in case she does not arrive in that time, you are then to open the inclosed pacquet and proceed as above directed leaving a Letter to be delivered to Cap[t] I'Anson upon his Arrival, to acquaint him with your departure.

Given &c[a] 8th October 1767.

E[D] Hawke.
G. Yonge.
P[Y] Brett.

Lieu[t] Teers—*Florida* Storeship—Nore.
By &c. P. S.

Enclosed Packet.

From the same to the same.

By &c[a]

P.R.O. Adm. 2, [1332].

You are hereby required and directed to proceed with all possible dispatch, in the Storeship you command, to Port Egmont in Falkland's Islands; And, upon your arrival, to deliver the inclosed Pacquet to Cap[t] Raynor of the *Swift* or the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels there, and follow his Orders for your farther proceedings.

Given &c[a] the 8th of October 1767.

E[D] Hawke.
Geo. Yonge.
P[Y] Brett.

To
Lieu[t] Teers—*Florida* Storeship.
By &c[a] P. S.

Inner enclosed Packet.

[Duplicate of Secret Order from the Lords Commissioners to Cap[t] Raynor of the *Swift:* 8th Oct. 1767.]

7.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Captain Anthony Hunt.

By &c[a].

Whereas we have appointed you to be Commander of His Majesty's Frigate the *Tamar*, in the room of Cap[t] I'Anson deceased[1]: You are hereby required and directed to repair immediately on board the said Frigate, and carry into execution, with the utmost expedition, all such Orders directed to Cap[t] I'Anson as remain unexecuted. P.R.O. Adm. Sec. Out-Letters $\frac{2}{94}$.

Given &c. 16th October, 1767.

E[D] Hawke.
Peircy Brett.
C. Jenkinson.

Cap[t] Ant[y] Hunt—*Tamar*—Plymouth.
By &c[a]

P. S.
per Express at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 6 P.M.

8.

Capt. Anthony Hunt, H.M.S. *Tamar*, to Philip Stephens, Esq., Secretary to the Admiralty.

Tamar Sloop,
Plymouth Sound,
October 20th 1767.

Sir,

I beg you will please to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I yesterday received their Lordships' Commission to command His Majesty's Sloop *Tamar*; and shall use the utmost expedition to put their Lordships' Orders into execution, and am, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Serv[t] P.R.O. Adm. Sec. In-Letters, Captains'. [1899.]

Anth[y] Hunt.

Phillip Stephens Esq[r].

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[1] This order being dated at London only five days after Capt. I'Anson's letter here numbered 2, from Dover, his death must have been sudden; but whether it was the result of accident or of illness has not come to light.

IV.

(*Reference:* vol. I, pp. 86, 113–14, 122–3, 168.)

DESPATCH

from Don DOMINGO PERLER, commanding the chambequin[1] *Andaluz*, to Don JULIAN DE ARRIAGA, Minister for the Navy[2], communicating the unsuccessful result of his voyage from Montevideo to Patagonia and the Falkland Islands, in quest of an alleged English settlement, which existed actually at Port Egmont.

Most Excellent Señor,

A. G. de I. Indiferente del Perú [138-6-3.]

My Lord:—I wrote to Your Excellency, under date the 18th of December of the past year, informing you that I had received an Order from the Most Excᵗ Señor the Commander-in-Chief of this Province to proceed in the xebeque under my command to reconnoitre the coast in a southerly direction from Cape San Antonio to the Straits of Magalhaens, and such portion of the latter as I might be able to, as far as their outlet; touching, on my return voyage, at the *Malvinas* Islands in order to report fully to the Governor there as to whether the English were in fact settled at any part of the coast.

I sailed from this port on the 23rd of the same, and proceeded past the Cape mentioned, hugging the land as far as to the mouth of the Straits, into which I was unable to get; being prevented by a dense fog that lasted three days, such as are very frequent on that coast and are followed by a hurricane of wind from the W., S.W., and S. before which one is compelled to scud, as happened to me several times—blowing hardest when I was down about 52½ Lat.

Seeing its persistence, and having the greater part of my crew incapacitated by scurvy, being short of provisions, too, for going afterwards to the *Malvinas* and then returning here, and the season being moreover already advanced, I decided on the 5th of March to make for the harbour of *la Anunciacion*[3] in the said islands, where I came to an anchor on the 8th. And after I had given a

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[1] A *chambequin* was a frigate-rigged xebec. *Cf.* vol. I, p. 64, foot-note.

[2] Arriaga was Minister for the Navy at this time as well as for the Indies: consequently Perler communicated directly with him, as well as Bucareli.

[3] *La Anunciacion* was *Puerto de la Soledad*, where the Spaniards had just taken over the French settlement of M. de Bougainville and re-named the inlet, now called Berkeley Sound.

particular account of everything to the Governor[1] of them he despatched me on the 24th of the same and I put to sea, arriving here on the 15th inst. after a very favourable passage; whence I have reported myself to the aforementioned Most Exc[t] Señor and have sent him an accurate Journal of my voyage, with Plans of the harbours, bays, and roadsteads, and a general chart of the whole, during which I found no inhabitants nor settlement whatever.

I now also similarly transmit [duplicates of] the said Journal and Plans, by the commander of the Frigate *Esmeralda*, Don Matheo del Collado, to place in Your Excellency's hands as soon as he shall arrive at Cadiz. The bad weather did not allow the survey to be made with more exactitude, for our decks were many times flooded and we were often under bare poles, this vessel—owing to her lowness in the waist—being none of the best for resisting the continual furious gales and coarse seas I experienced: this, too, in spite of its being the best [time] in the whole year. But I make no doubt that, so far as they go, the corrections and emendations [shown on them] are reliable.

It was a matter of great regret to me that after reaching the mouth of the Strait I could not succeed in getting into it, as I was anxious to fulfil my commission; this was not through any omission on my part, however, but owing to the incessant bad weather and to our having but little information about its coast-line and harbours, for it was not possible to find here even a bad pilot, to have guided us in with some local knowledge.

I hope that everything will meet with Your Excellency's approval and satisfaction; trusting to your favour that I may not be left out of mind, but continue to receive your commands for my implicit obedience and fulfilment, as well as that God may preserve Your Excellency's life through many long years.

Montevideo: the 30th of April, 1768.

Most Exc[t] Señor,

Your most obedient Servant kisses Your Excellency's hands.

Domingo Perler.

To the Most Exc[t]
S[or] B[o] fr. D[n] Julian de Arriaga.

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[1] The Spanish Governor was Don Felipe Ruiz Puente, himself a naval officer.

V.

(*Reference:* vol. I, pp. 135–142.)

THE FIRST PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IN ENGLAND OF THE DISCOVERY OF TAHITI.

Reprinted from *The St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, no. 1129 (May 24–26) of 1768: *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle* (May 23–25): *The London Chronicle* (May 24–26): and *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (May 26–27), all of the same year.

Extract of a Letter from on board his Majesty's Ship the *Dolphin*, newly arrived from a second Voyage round the World.

"We have discovered a large, fertile, and extremely populous Island in the South-Seas. The *Dolphin* came to an Anchor in a safe, spacious and commodious Harbour, where she lay about six Weeks. From the Behaviour of the Inhabitants, we had Reason to believe she was the first and only Ship they had ever seen.

"The first day they came alongside with a Number of Canoes, in order to take Possession of her; there were two Divisions, one filled with Men, and the other with Women; these last endeavoured to engage the Attention of our Sailors, by exposing their beauties to their View, whilst the Men from the Canoes threw great Quantities of Stones by which several Seamen were hurt; however, as they had no Kind of Weapons, they were soon beat off, and a few Vollies of small Arms obliged them to retire in great Confusion.

"The Day following a Party, well armed, was sent on Shore with the watering Casks, and our People at the Topmast-head discovered, by the Help of their Glasses, prodigious Numbers of the Natives flocking from all Parts towards the watering Place, in order to surround the Party; upon which a Signal was made for them to come on board and leave the Watering-Casks. This was no sooner done than the *Dolphin* was attacked by greater Numbers than the Day preceding, which obliged them to have Recourse to the disagreeable Necessity of firing some of their great Guns at them, charged with Grape-Shot; and some Guns with Ball were also fired up the Country, which knocked down some of their Houses, felled several Trees, &c., and struck them with such Awe, that they now looked on our People as more than human, since their Houses could not shelter them, nor Distance take them out of the Reach of our Shot.

"They immediately shewed the greatest desire of being at Peace with us, and did not seem to resent the killing a Number of their People, as they now appeared to be sensible that we had only made use of those dreadful Engines against them when their Rashness had forced us to it.

"We took Possession of the Island in his Majesty's Name, and called it KING GEORGE'S LAND. It lies about 20 Degrees Southern Latitude. This Island was governed by a Queen, to whom the Natives seemed to pay the utmost Reverence, as they obeyed not only her Words, but even her Looks and Gestures. She expressed the most lively Sorrow on our leaving the Island, and the last Thing she did was to take the Crown from her own Head, and present it to Capt. Wallace. It has been carefully preserved, and is to be presented to her Majesty of Great Britain.

"During the Remainder of our Stay we continued to trade with the Natives in the most amicable Manner, giving them Nails, Buttons, Beads, and Trinkets, in Exchange for fresh Provisions, which we were greatly in Want of.

"The Natives are pretty much civilized, considering that the Arts have made but little Progress among them. They are in general taller and stouter made than our People, and are mostly of a Copper Colour, with black Hair; others are fairer, especially the Women, some of whom were observed to be red-haired. It does not appear that they know the Use of any one Metal whatever. When the Grape-Shot came among them, they dived after it, and brought up the Pieces of Lead. They swim like Fish, and can remain a long Time under Water. They were clothed with a kind of Stuff made of the Bark of Trees, some red, some yellow; its Texture resembles that of coarse thick paper, and cannot resist Wet.

"From some Circumstances we had Reason to imagine that the King of the Island was killed in the Attack the second Day[1]; and the Queen was clothed in Red, which we found was the Mourning of the Country. 'Tis impossible to describe the beautiful Prospects we beheld in this charming Spot; the Verdure is as fine as that of England, there is Great Plenty of live Stock, and it abounds with all the choicest Productions of the Earth. Besides the large Island, there are several lesser ones, which have been named *Charlotte* Island, *Glocester* Island, *Boscawen* Island, *Keppel* Island, *Wallace* Island, &c."

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[1] Quite a misconception. There was no "King of the Island." The Chief of principal rank at this time was an infant, Teriirere, the only son of Amo and Purea; but he could only claim suzerainty over the Teva clans. See farther at p. 460, note 2.

VI.

(*Reference:* vol. I, p. 289, note 2, &c.)

A PASSAGE

FROM THE JOURNAL OF

HENRY IBBOT, MIDSHIPMAN:

1767.

[The following 'Remarks' about the Tahitians at the time of their first contact with Europeans have seemed interesting enough, though but brief and sketchy, to merit printing for comparison with the Spanish narratives. They are taken from the unpublished Journal of Henry Ibbot, a midshipman of H.M.S. *Dolphin* under Capt. Wallis; and were written by him one week after the ship's arrival at *Matavai*. His Journal is among those preserved at the Public Record Office: Captains' Logs 4542.

The *Dolphin's* muster book shows that Midshipman Ibbot belonged to "Swatham" (Swaffham) in Norfolk, and that he was twenty-three years of age when he joined the *Dolphin*. He seems to have been the most impressionable and intelligent observer among the junior officers of the ship, and his Journal compares favourably with all the others—not excepting that of Tobias Furneaux, the second lieutenant, who afterwards commanded the *Adventure* under the orders of Capt. Cook in the *Resolution*. There was a Benjamin Ibbot, rector of Swaffham, in the early years of the eighteenth century, who achieved some literary fame and was also known as a preacher. He became a prebendary of Westminster and D.D., but died at the comparatively early age of 45, and was buried in the Abbey, in 1725. Henry Ibbot, of the *Dolphin*, may have been his grandson.—ED.]

"JULY, 1767. Saturday, 4th. Moor'd in Port Royal Bay [*Matavai*, Tahiti].

P.R.O. Adm. Captains' Logs, 4542.

Observ'd in 17° 30′ 0″ S. Latt.

Light winds & fine pleas^{t} W^{r}. P.M.[1] Eng^{d} stowing ye After Hold. The Natives being very sociable w^{h} us Capt Wallis gave leave for a stated number of Men to go on Shore every Day w^{h} the trading Party, & the Inhabitants behaved very kindly to y^{m}

[1] The dates are quoted from noon to noon.

and never offer'd y^m^ the least insult, tho' some of y^m^ stroll'd for Miles into ye Country having no manner of Weapons w^h^ them.

The Indians bro^t^ down to ye Watering place where they traded Pigs, Fowls, Fruit of different Kinds, Fish, Fish-Hooks, Lines, Hatchets, Cloth (or rather a Sort of Paper), Shells, Bows & Arrows & a Sort of Hal Bird[1]. Of the Fish Hooks there are all Sizes & three different Shapes. The best & neatest sort which must be of great vallue to y^m^ are made of Mother of Pearl, in two different parts. The others are made of shell, & some of wood. The Lines are very neat and well twisted, excessive strong: made of ye Maho[2] Tree very common in Spanish America.

The Cloth I esteem to be very curious, & I dare to say was ne'er seen or heard of in England. I saw several of the Women at work on it in the River: they have a large piece of Board on which they lay it (the Bark of a Tree) & with continual rubbing it w^h^ a shell in ye Water they scrape and wash away all the gross parts; and when they have worked it to a proper consistency they lay it By for a further opperation which, as I never had an opportunity of seeing, I can't pretend to say anything of it. I have seen four different sorts of it, the first being not much unlik what we call silver paper; The second is stiff as Cartridge paper, the other two sorts are not anything of a Paper nature, and is as thick as a Blanket, of a Cottony nature and very soft. These I have seen y^m^ wear, two, three and four on y^m^ at a time one over another, about two yards long and one broad: in the middle is a Hole through w^h^ they thrust their Heads, & so wear it hanging on them.

There are two different sorts of People among y^m^ one having long Black Hair and of a dark copper Colour, in gen'ral Stout, well made & handsome featur'd, & by what I saw of y^m^ are the poorer sort such as Fisher Men & (which appears to be their chief employment) Canoe Builders; tho' in short I take y^m^ to be in gen'ral lazy and indolent. The most part of them go naked except a Bag where they put their Privities. The other sort have short curly Black Hair, are not so yellow as a Mulatto, all of y^m^ go w^h^ ye Cloath above ment^d^ and are in gen'ral I dare to say as tall & Stout as the Patagonians[3]. Of the women I saw some that were quite white and had a red colour in their Faces: they are in gen'ral very small, but quite handsomely Featur'd. The Men of both sorts all wear their Beards, and one thing very remarkable which I never heard of any People before, that is, Both Men and

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[1] The 'halberd' was doubtless what we should call a club.

[2] Mahoe, Mahu, majagua, is the West Indian *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (Linn.) and also *H. elatus* (Sw.). The South Sea island variety is *Hibiscus tiliaceus*: Tah. *purau* and *fau*.

[3] In an earlier page of his Journal Ibbot mentions having measured some Patagonians near Cape Virgenes "from 6 to near 7 feet in height." George Forster states that Tu was the tallest man he saw at Tahiti, and both he and Andía (p. 265, note 3) found him to measure 6 ft. 3 in.

Women having their Backsides Black'd[1], which is done by pricking it in, and some of the Old Men I have seen w^h their Arms, Legs & Bodys Black'd in sev'ral different parts.

Their love of Iron (Nails) is so great that the women (or rather Girls, for they were very young & small) prostitute themselves to any of our People for a Nail, hardly looking upon Knives, Beads, or any toy. Yet I must say y^t the Girls w^h were of the white sort would admit of any Freedom but the last, which the would not, evry one having by what I saw a Man or Husband. Pettycoat interest here as well as in other parts is the most prevailing, the principal person here about who appear'd to have any authority over the rest being a Woman, whom we stiled the Queen; she was the stoutest woman I ever saw there, & had a very commanding aspect, but not handsome, being upon ye decline[2]. She lived at a House which we call'd the large House, being about Feet long and Broad. The Roof supported by about Pillars[3] or Trees, and in the whole, allowing for the Materials, is something very clever: there was no partition in it but all open. They sat upon Mats (as I take it every family by itself) either cross-legged or on small low Stools.

Their chief Food is Pork, Fowls, Fish, Bread-Fruit, & a various composition of different Fruits Mixed together. When they eat there is Plantain leaves spread on the ground wheron their victuals is laid, and two Cocoa Nutt shells of Water by every person, in one of which they wash their victuals before they put it in their Mouth[4], & dip their Fingers in the other before they touch their victuals again. Here the Queen serves it out to her Attendants, herself is fed by two fine young Girls.—

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[1] *i.e.* tattoo'd.

[2] This, of course, was Te Vahine Airoro-Atua i Ahurai, familiarly known as 'O Purea': quoted by Wallis as Oberea and by Banks as Oborea. She was a daughter of Terii Vaetua, Chief of Faaa, whose wife was a lady of the Vaiari family; and she married Tevahitua i Patea, Chief of Papara and head of the Teva clan, who adopted the name 'Amo' when his son was born, because the child had a habit of blinking. Airoro was a headstrong, ambitious, and influential Chiefess; but to describe her as 'Queen' of Tahiti is a misnomer, though her small son Teriirere did run Tu very closely during some time for the paramountcy. On all these matters Arii Taimai's history [Bibl. no. 8] may be usefully consulted.

[3] These blanks in Ibbot's MS. can be supplied from Hawkeworth [Bibl. no. 51] as follows:—Length 327 ft., width 42 ft., sides 12 ft. from the ground, ridge of gable 30 ft. from the ground, number of pillars 39 along each side, and 14 down the centre supporting the ridge. There is an engraving in the same work which shows a portion of the house; and the British Museum has a remarkable drawing of it in water colour. Arii Taimai was of opinion that it was the *fare hau*, or Council house, of the district—Haapape—which was not Airoro's own at all, but in which she was received as an honoured guest.

[4] He probably refers to the cup of *miti* or sea water they used as a savouring as they had no knowledge of preparing salt in crystals.

VII.

(*Reference*: vol. II, p. 258, note.)

[The following letter, written by Dr de Commerson to the celebrated astronomer and man of science M. Lalande, was published in the *Mercure de France* of November, 1769, It is re-printed here mainly because of its relevance to the social and other features presented by the Tahitians before contact with Europeans had affected their customs or influenced the exercise of their cult.

Philibert de Commerson was a graduate of the university of Montpellier, and accompanied M. de Bougainville to Tahiti as surgeon-botanist of the *Boudeuse* in 1768, prior to which time H.M.S. *Dolphin* was the only ship known to have called there; for the passage of Quirós and Torres through the Tuamotu and past Makatea in 1606 was of too meteoric a nature to leave any lasting impression, even if reports of it ever reached the Tahitians.

Teeming as it does with French optimism and bonhomie, this letter would lose so much of its verve, by translation, that it is deemed preferable to give it here in the original, exactly as it appeared in the *Mercure*.

It was off *Hitiaa*, on the East coast, that Bougainville's vessels anchored; and the *arii* of the locality was the same O Reti who is several times mentioned in the Spanish journals—especially by Gayangos, his *taio*—and in the writings of Capt. Cook and his associates. The fate of Commerson's leaden tablet, with its grandiloquent inscription, remains unknown.—ED.]

Lettre de M. Commerson, docteur en médecine, & médecin botaniste du Roi à l'Isle de France, le 25 Février 1769.

SUR LA DÉCOUVERTE DE LA NOUVELLE ISLE DE CYTHÈRE OU TAÏTI.

Le voyage que j'ai entrepris avec M. de Bougainville, autour du monde, pour le progrès de l'Histoire Naturelle, m'a fourni la matiere d'un nombre immense d'observations: mais parmi les choses singulières & qui doivent le plus intéresser le public, il n'y a rien de plus remarquable que la découverte d'une Isle nouvelle de la mer du Sud, d'où M. de Bougainville a emmené un des principaux habitans.

Cette Isle me parut telle, que je lui avois déjà appliqué le nom d'*Utopie* ou *de fortunée*, que Thomas Morus avoit donné à sa

République idéale : je ne savois pas encore que M. de Bougainville l'avoit nommée la *nouvelle Cythère*, & ce n'est que postérieurement encore qu'un des princes de cette nation (celui que l'on a conduit en Europe) nous a appris qu'elle étoit nommée Taïti, par ses propres habitans. Le nom que je lui destinois convenoit à un pays, le seul peut-être de la terre, où habitent des hommes sans vices, sans préjugés, sans besoins, sans dissensions.

Nés sous le plus beau ciel, nourris des fruits d'une terre qui est féconde sans culture, régis par des pères de famille plutôt que par des Rois, ils ne connoissent d'autre Dieu que l'amour ; tous les jours lui sont consacrés, toute l'Isle est son temple, toutes les femmes en sont les idoles, tous les hommes les adorateurs. Et quelles femmes encore ! Les rivales des Géorgiennes pour la beauté, et les sœurs des Graces sans voile. La honte ni la pudeur n'exercent point leur tyrannie ; la plus légère des gazes flotte toujours au gré du vent & des desirs. L'acte de créer son semblable est un acte de religion ; les préludes en sont encouragés par les vœux et les chants de tout le peuple assemblé, et la fin est célébrée par des applaudissemens universels ; tout étranger est admis à participer à ces heureux mystères ; c'est même un des devoirs de l'hospitalité que de les y inviter, de sorte que le bon Taïtien jouit sans cesse, ou du sentiment de ses propres plaisirs, ou du spectacle de ceux des autres. Quelque censeur austère ne verra peut-être en cela qu'un débordement de mœurs, une horrible prostitution, le cynisme le plus effronté ; mais n'est-ce point l'état de l'homme naturel, né essentiellement bon, exempt de tout préjugé, & suivant sans défiance comme sans remords, les douces impulsions d'un instinct toujours sûr, parce qu'il n'a pas encore dégénéré en raison ?

Une langue très-sonore, très-harmonieuse, composée d'environ quatre ou cinq cens mots indéclinables & inconjugables, c'est-à-dire sans aucune syntaxe, leur suffit pour rendre toutes leurs idées, & pour exprimer tous leurs besoins. Noble simplicité qui, n'excluant ni les modifications des tons, ni la pantomime des passions, les garantit de cette superbe battologie que nous appellons la richesse des langues, & qui nous fait perdre dans le labyrinthe des mots, la netteté des perceptions & la promptitude du jugement. Le Taïtien, au contraire, nomme son objet aussi-tôt qu'il l'apperçoit. Le ton dont il a prononcé le nom de cet objet, a déjà rendu la maniere dont il en est affecté. Peu de paroles font une conversation rapide. Les opérations de l'ame, les mouvemens du cœur, sont isochrones avec le remuement des lèvres. Celui qui parle, & celui qui écoute, sont toujours à l'unison. Notre Prince Taïtien qui, depuis sept ou huit mois qu'il étoit avec nous, n'avoit pas encore appris dix de nos paroles, étourdi le plus souvent de leur volubilité, n'avoit d'autre ressource que celle de se boucher les oreilles, et de nous rire au nez.

Ce n'est point ici une horde de sauvages grossiers & stupides ; tout chez ce peuple est marqué au coin de la plus parfaite intelligence. Leurs pirogues sont d'une construction qui n'a point de modèle connue, leur navigation est dirigée par l'inspection des astres, leurs cases sont vastes, de forme élégante, commodes & régulières ; ils ont l'art, non pas de tisser fil a fil de la toile, mais de la faire sortir subitement toute faite de dessous le battoir, & de la colorer de gouttes de pourpre. Les arbres fruitiers y sont judicieusement espacés, dans des champs qui ont tout l'agrément de nos vergers, sans en avoir l'ennuyeuse symmétrie ; tous les écueils de leurs côtes sont balisés & éclairés de nuit en faveur de ceux qui tiennent la mer : toutes leurs plantes sont connues, & distinguées par des noms qui vont jusqu'à en indiquer les affinités : les instrumens de leurs arts, quoique tirés des matières brutes, sont dignes cependant d'être comparés aux nôtres par le choix des formes, & la sureté de leurs opérations.

Avec quelle industrie ne traitoient-ils pas déjà le fer, ce métal si précieux pour eux qui ne le tournent qu'en des usages utiles, si vil pour nous qui en avons fait les instrumens du désespoir & de la mort ! Avec quelle horreur ne repoussoient-ils pas les couteaux & les ciseaux que nous leur offrions, parce qu'ils sembloient deviner l'abus qu'on en pouvoit faire ! Avec quel empressement, au contraire, ne sont-ils pas venus prendre les dimensions de nos canots, de nos chaloupes, de nos voiles, de nos tentes, de nos bariques, en un mot, de tout ce qu'ils ont cru pouvoir avantageusement imiter !

Nous avons admiré la simplicité de leurs mœurs, l'honnêteté de leurs procédés, sur-tout envers leurs femmes, qui ne sont nullement subjuguées chez eux comme chez les sauvages, leur philadelphie entre eux tous, leur horreur pour l'effusion du sang humain, leur respect idolâtre pour leurs morts qu'ils ne regardent que comme des gens endormis, enfin leur hospitalité pour les étrangers.

On a admis leurs chefs à nos repas ; tout ce qui a paru sur les tables a excité leur curiosité. Ils ont voulu qu'on leur rendît raison de chaque plat. Un légume leur sembloit-il bon ? Ils en demandoient aussi-tôt de la graine ; en la recevant ils s'informoient où, et comment, il falloit la planter, dans combien de tems elle viendroit en rapport. Notre pain leur a paru excellent, mais il leur a fallu montrer le grain dont on le faisoit, les moyens de le pulvériser, la maniere de mettre la farine en pâte, de la faire fermenter & de la cuire. Tous ces procédés ont été suivis & saisis dans le détail ; le plus souvent même il suffisoit de leur dire la moitié de la chose, l'autre étoit déjà prévue & devinée. Leur aversion pour le vin & les liqueurs étoit invincible. Hommes sages en tout, ils reçoivent fidellement des mains de la nature leurs alimens & leur boissons ; il n'y a chez eux ni liqueurs fermentées, ni pots à cuire : aussi n'a-t-on jamais vu de plus

belles dents, ni de plus belle carnation. Il est bien dommage que le seul homme qu'on puisse montrer de cette nation, en soit peut-être le plus laid ; qu'on se garde bien d'en juger sur cette montre : mais si je suis obligé de le déprécier à cet égard, je lui dois rendre la justice, qu'il mérite d'être étudié & connu ; individu vraiment intéressant, digne de toutes les attentions du ministère, & auquel il est même dû, à titre de justice, bien des dédommagemens pour tous les sacrifices volontaires qu'il nous a faits dans l'enthousiasme de son attachement pour nous.

On demandera sans doute de quel continent, de quel peuple, sont venus ces insulaires ? Comme si ce n'étoit que d'émigrations en émigrations que les continens, & les Isles, eussent par se peupler. Comme si l'on ne pouvoit pas dans l'hypothèse même des émigrations, qu'on ne sçauroit se dispenser d'admettre de tems en tems, supposer par toute terre un peuple primitif, qui a reçu [et] incorporé le peuple émigrant, ou qui en a été chassé, ou détruit. Pour moi, en ne considérant cette question qu'en Naturaliste, j'admettrois volontiers, par-tout, ces peuples *Protoplastes* dont, malgré les révolutions physiques arrivées sur les différentes parties de notre globe, il s'est toujours conservé au moins un couple sur chacune de celles qui sont restées habitées ; & je ne traiterois qu'en historien des révolutions humaines, toutes ces émigrations vraies ou prétendues : je vois, d'ailleurs, des races d'hommes très-distinctes. Ces races mêlées ensemble ont bien pu produire des nuances : mais il n'y a qu'un mythologiste qui puisse expliquer comment le tout seroit sorti d'une souche commune : ainsi je ne vois pas pourquoi les bons Taïtiens ne seroient pas les propres fils de leur terre, je veux dire descendus de leurs aïeux toujours Taïtiens, en remontant aussi haut que le peuple le plus jaloux de son ancienneté. Je vois encore moins à quelle nation il faudroit faire honneur de la peuplade de Taïti, toujours maintenue dans les termes de la simple nature. Une société d'hommes une fois corrompue, ne peut se régénérer en entier. Les Colonies portent partout avec elles les vices de leur métropole. Que l'on trouve de l'analogie dans la langue, dans les mœurs, dans les usages de quelque peuple voisin ou éloigné de Taïti ? Je n'aurai rien à répliquer & dans ce cas encore la question ne seroit que rétorquée, & non pas résolue. Je forme seulement une conjecture que je soumets bien volontiers à ceux qui se plaisent à discuter ces sortes de sujets. Je trouve dans la langue Taïtienne quatre ou cinq mots dérivés de l'Espagnol, entr' autres celui d'*haouri* qui vient évidemment d'*hierro*, fer, & *Mattar*, *Matté*, qui veut dire tuer ou tué. Seroient-ce quelques Espagnols échoués dans les premieres navigations de la mer du Sud, qui leur auroient fourni ces mots en leur donnant la premiere connaissance de la chose ? La langue Taïtienne seroit-elle donc aussi glorieuse, de n'avoir point en jusqu'alors de mot propre à exprimer l'action de tuer, que les anciennes loix de Lacédémone

de n'avoir point prononcé de peine contre le parricide pour n'en avoir pas imaginé la possibilité. Si l'on m'admettoit cette supposition, que je ne voudrois cependant pas faire au préjudice d'une nation que je respecte, j'en tirerois bientôt l'explication de quelques usages, & de l'origine de quelques animaux, qui me semblent empruntés des Européens. Ce seroit ainsi qu'une chienne & une truie, pleines, auroient procuré à cette Isle la race des cochons, & des petits chiens d'Europe. Ce seroit ainsi que l'art de mailler les tramails, ou filets à poisson, & de les monter comme nous, la pratique de la saignée faite avec des esquilles de nacre, aiguisés en forme de lancettes, la ressemblance de leurs siéges avec ceux que nos menuisiers font très-bas sur quatre pieds & sans dossier pour les enfants, leurs cordes, leurs lignes faites de fibres de végétaux, leurs tresses de cheveux, leurs paniers, leurs haches, faites en forme d'herminette, leurs pagnes passées au cou des hommes, en forme de dalmatique, leur passion pour les pendans d'oreilles & les bracelets, & quelques autres usages, qui pris distributivement n'établissent rien, indiqueroient collectivement une suite d'imitations de modes Européennes : enfin le peu de fer échappé au naufrage auroit depuis lors été détruit par la rouille, en sorte qu'il n'est pas surprenant que nous n'en ayons pas trouvé les moindres vestiges ; mais la tradition & le nom, quoiqu'un peu corrompu, s'en seroient conservés : si mieux on n'aime supposer qu'une Isle éloignée d'environ cent ou deux cens lieues, avec laquelle le prince Taïtien nous a assuré qu'ils communiquoient, ne leur ait donné ces notions sans qu'ils ayent jamais eu aucune communication immédiate avec les Européens.

Je ne quitterai pas ces chers Taïtiens sans les avoir lavés d'une injure qu'on leur fait en les traitant de voleurs : il est vrai qu'ils nous ont enlevé beaucoup de choses, et cela même avec une dexterité qui feroit honneur au plus habile filou de Paris ; mais méritent-ils pour cela le nom de voleurs ? Qu'est-ce que le vol ? C'est l'enlévement d'une chose qui est en propriété à un autre ; il faut donc pour que l'un se plaigne justement d'avoir été volé, qu'il lui ait été enlevé un effet sur lequel son droit de propriété étoit préétabli & avoué ; mais ce droit de propriété est-il dans la nature ? Non ; il est de pure convention. Aucune convention n'oblige, à moins qu'elle ne soit connue & acceptée. Le Taïtien qui n'a rien à lui, qui offre & donne généreusement tout ce qu'il voit désirer, ne l'a point comme ce droit exclusif : donc l'acte d'enlèvement qu'il nous fait d'une chose qui excite sa curiosité, n'est, selon lui, qu'un acte d'équité naturelle par lequel il sçait nous faire exécuter ce qu'il exécuteroit lui-même. C'est une inverse du talion, par lequel on s'applique tout le bien qu'on auroit fait aux autres. Notre prince Taïtien étoit un plaisant voleur, il prenoit d'une main un clou, ou un verre, ou un biscuit ; mais c'étoit pour le donner de l'autre au premier de ses siens qu'il rencontroit, en leur enlevant canards, poules, & cochons, qu'il

nous apportoit. J'ai vu la canne d'un officier levée sur lui, comme on le surprenoit dans cette espèce de supercherie dont on n'ignoroit pas le motif généreux. Je me jettai avec indignation entre deux au hazard d'en recevoir le coup moi-même : telle est l'ame dure de la plûpart des marins, sur laquelle Jean-Jacques Rousseau place si plaisamment un point de doute, & d'interrogation ?

Je joins ici un double de l'inscription que j'ai laissée dans cette Isle, gravée sur des médaillons de plomb dans l'Isle de Taïti : ne l'examinez point, Monsieur, avec la scrupuleuse riguer des critiques en style lapidaire. Si on y reconnoît seulement l'expression d'une ame touchée & reconnoissante, j'ai rempli le but que je me proposois.

Bonâ suâ fortunâ,
Gallorum navigantium duæ cohortes,
A clarissimo Buginvillæo ductæ,
Septimestri terrarum Americanarum recessu
Penitùs exhaustæ,
Siti scilicèt ac fame consumptæ,
Irati Neptuni omnes jàm casus expertæ,
Viribusque corporis tantùm ferè deficientes
Quantùm animis erectæ,
In hanc-ce tandem Insulam appulêtе
Omni beatæ vitæ suppelectili ditissimam,
Rex nomine *Utopiam* nuncupandam,
Quà nempè Themis, Astræa, Venus,
Et omnium rerum pretiosissima libertas,
Procul à reliquorum Mortalium vitiis ac dissentionibus
Æternam inconcussamque posuere sedem :
Quà inviolata interest habitantibus pax
Sanctissimaque Philadelphia ;
Nec aliud sentitur nisi patriarchale regimen ;
Quà demùm integerrima debetur & persolvitur
Advenis, ut, ut ingratis ! Fides, hospitalitas,
Gratuitaque omnigenarum terræ divitiarum profusio.
Hæc gratitudinis & admirationis sua testimonia
Tabellis plumbeis undequàque per insulam disjectis
Properante manu exaravit
Philibertus Commerson, Castellionensis[1],
Doctor Medicus, in naturalibus rebus Observator
A Rege Christianissimo delegatus
Gentis & naturæ adeò benignæ
Adorator perpetuus.
Idibus Aprilis M.DCC.LXVIII.

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[1] In reference to Commerson's birth-place, Châtillon-lès-Dombes, now called Châtillon-sur-Chalaronne, near Bourg: Dépt d'Ain.

VIII.

(*Reference:* vol. II, p. 156 note, pp. 157–8 text.)

THE CONVENTION OF HATUTIRA, 1775.

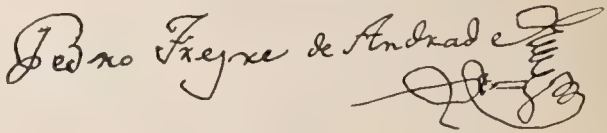
Original text of the AFFIDAVIT in evidence of the *Declaration of Fealty and Allegiance* to the Crown of Spain by the Chiefs TU-NUI-EA-I-TE-ATUA and VEHIATUA on the part of the Tahitian nation.

D[n] PEDRO FREYRE DE ANDRADE Contador de Navio de la R[l] Armada, con destino enla Fragata de S. M. *Sta Maria Magdalena* alias *AGUILA*: *A. G. I. Audia de Lima* [112–4–11.]

CERTIFICO. *Que el Dia Cinco de Enero del presente año alas quatro de la tarde. Por disposicion del Comandante de este Buque D[n] Domingo de Boenechea: Los oficiales de Guerra D[n] Thomas Gayangos Then[te] de Navio: D[n] Raymundo Bonacorsi Idem de Fragata: D[n] Nicolas Toledo Alferez de Navio: D[n] Juan de Apodàca Alferez de Fragata; y D[n] Juan Hervè Ydem y primer Piloto; y los Padres Misioneros Fr. Geronimo Clota y Fr. Narciso Gonzales. Juntos todos en la Casa del establecimiento. Combocamos a ella por medio del Ynterprete, a los Heries principales è Yndios de mas suposicion del Partido para formar nuestro Establecimiento. Y haviendoles preguntado si èran ò no gustosos de que dhos. Padres y el Ynterprete quedasen en su Ysla, respondieron todos unanimes que si. Prometiendo voluntariam[te] los dos Heries principales Bexiatùa y Hotù, favorecerlos y defenderlos de todo Ynsulto de parte de los Avitantes de la Ysla: Ayudarlos a su subsistencia; y en el càso de faltarles los Alimentos de su hùso, proveerlos de quanto ellos disfrutan. Haciendonos al mismo tiempo la discreta prevencion de que en Càso de hazer alos nuestros alguna extorsiòn los Avitantes de la Ysla de Morèa con quienes no estavan en Amistad; ò alguna Embarcaciòn estrangera à quienes ellos no pudiesen raesistir, no seles havia de hazer Cargo alguno.*

Seles hizo savèr por medio del Ynterprete, la Grandeza de nuestro soberano: El yncontestable Derecho que tiene à todas las Yslas Adyacentes asus bastos Dominios: Sus Deseos de fauorecerlos e ynstruyrlos, paraque sean superiores a todos los que viven enla misma ygnorancia; Y les ofrecimos en su R^l Nombre, mediante las Facultades conque se hà dignàdo autorizarnos en el Capitulo Onze dela Ynstrucion, proveerlos de muchos Hutiles: Defenderlos de sus Enemigos; y que serian visitados con frecuencia porlas Embarcaciones de S.M. si cunplian con fidelidad lo prometido. Demostraron todos una gran Complacencia, y en alta vòz digeron Que lo admitian por Rey de Otaheyte y de todos su Tierras.

Siendoles muy agradable la formalidad de este Combenio y para que conste alos fines que combengan expido esta Abordo de la propria Fragata, al Ancla en el Puerto Oxatutira de la Ysla Oriental de Amat, alias Hotaheyti en Cinco de Enero de mil setecientos setenta y cinco.



IX.

A LETTER

addressed by Lieut. Don BLAS DE BARREDA to the Duchess of MEDINA SIDONIA.

[This letter, with its accompanying memorandum and Her Grace's acknowledgment, is translated from a MS. in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* at Madrid, bound up in *Tomo* V of *Astronomía y otros Asuntos* [Bibl. no. MSS. 6]. Don Blas de Barreda was serving as senior lieutenant in the *Aguila* on her third voyage to Tahiti, under Lángara: and appears to have been the son of a distinguished naval officer of the same name, who was a Vizcaino by birth and died at Cartagena de Indias, in 1767, where he was Naval Commander-in-Chief at that time.

The letter and its reply were printed in 1884, in Spanish, in Don Ricardo Beltrán's work *La Polinésia* [Bibl. no. 18], which was compiled at the instance of the *Real Sociedad Geográfica*, of which he is the learned and justly distinguished General Secretary.—ED.]

Most Excellent Madam,

Dear and most honoured Lady:—I was very gratified to receive Your Excellency's much valued [letter], which afforded me the very greatest pleasure, by reason of the good news it brought me of your health. *D. H. Astr. V.*

I reached this port on the 19th of February, on returning from the new islands, after a voyage of $5\frac{1}{2}$ months. It has not been possible to get the plans of them finished, that I was intending to send forward by the present ship, together with some shells from among the choicest we met with and a few other trifles that have nothing particular about them beyond their novelty; but, for the present, I enclose to Your Excellency the accompanying memorandum, that Your Excellency may perchance amuse yourself with [reading about] the queer ways of these new people.

As these natives, for lack of physicians and drugs, spare no pains to gain a knowledge of herbs, I particularly tried to find out whether they might have any that cure them of cancer; but when, in the district of *Anuy*, I met the Chief's wife who had one in the breast, I lost all hope, for she told me they had not found any herb that would cure her disease.

I trust Your Excellency will not ascribe to interested motives what is purely inspired by affection and gratitude. I only beg that you will send me your commands in these countries, and meanwhile crave that Our Lord may prosper your life through the many years of happiness to be wished, in the companionship of my Lord the Duke, at whose service I most respectfully place myself.

Lima: the 24th of April, 1776.

Your most obedient and devoted Servant

BLAS DE BARREDA
kisses Your Excellency's feet.

To Her Most Exc^{t} Ladyship
The Duchess of Medina Sidonia.

P.S.—The plans and other trifles will go in the ship *Aquiles*.

[*Enclosure.*]

Enclosure.

REMARKS on some CUSTOMS of the NATIVES of the new ISLANDS or LANDS of QUIRÓS, observed during the voyage lately made by H.M.'s Frigate the *Aguila*, which anchored in the harbour of *Ohatutira*, in the Island of *Otaheti*, on the 2nd of November, 1775.

D. H. Astronomía y otros asuntos: tomo V. ff. 101—103.

As SOON as we had moored ship there arrived on board *La* Opo, the mother of Vehiatua, who in consequence of the latter's death was governing that District until such time as the brother, successor to the deceased, should be old enough to take over the command. She embraced some of the officers known to her from the previous voyage, with a great flow of tears; and announced the death of her son to them with much feeling. She likewise begged the Captain not to allow any but the officers to visit her son, whose body she was keeping care of on an islet close by; and said she held canoes and [ferry-] men in readiness for these at any time they might like to go across[1].

We landed on the morrow, and went over to the islet; and, meeting with some of the natives who stay there as guardians of the *marae*[2] or temple where he was preserved, they accompanied us to the spot, which consists of a small square structure, open in front, and liberally draped with mats, native cloth, and other adornments of the finest quality made in the country. In the interior lay the body of Vehiatua, attended by four of the henchmen whom, in his lifetime, he had most esteemed. These persons employed themselves in scaring away the flies and in continually anointing him with an oil they extract from coco-nuts and call *monoy*[3], by means of which they succeed in preserving the body from corruption. He had a table on which they place his food every day, in the belief that his spirit comes down to partake of it. On the opposite side was an oblation slab[4], whereon those who come to visit him deposit sundry fruits and fish[5].

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[1] The "islet" is a narrow tongue or peninsula of low land which extends some 500 yards in a direction N. and E. from the head of the Bay, between the last reach of the *Vaitepiha* and the sea-beach, as shown on the Plan at p. 120. During heavy rains the river overflows the neck of this peninsula (which thus becomes an islet), and delivers a part of its waters into the bay by the short cut thus made, at the place where a break in the shrubbery is denoted on the Plan near the word *Tiafa*. It was on this "islet" or tongue that Vehiatua's "mortuary chapel" stood; and some handsome *toa* or *aito* trees (*Casuarina*) still mark the spot and give out their mournful murmuring in the breeze.

[2] Written *Inmarae* in the MS.

[3] *Monoi*: scented coco-nut oil.

[4] *Ofertorio* in the Spanish.

[5] The scene above described formed the subject of a sketch by Mr Webber when he visited Tautira in the *Resolution* with Capt. Cook, in 1777. The

After having paid this visit we went back to his mother's house, where we met his brother; and we noticed that he had his lower lip blue (the same was the case with the deceased, and they told us it was the caste mark of the Vehiatuas[1]). Before going on board again they let us see a very doleful dance, which they were performing out of sorrow for the death of their *arii*[2]. They wore garments interwoven with feathers of very gloomy shades, with head-dresses to match, and masks of mother-of-pearl shell; and they held castanets of the same with which they clacked a mournful measure to the accompaniment of a drum, executing, as they danced, many gestures and weird grimaces.

Next day we went to the district of *Ahui* to look for a convenient place for watering ship. A great many of the natives came forward to meet us, and at the head of them the wife of the *arii* called Tupuay; and, on our telling her what we were in search of, she herself led us with a great show of goodwill to a spot that we found very well suited for our purpose. A number of the people accompanied us, and embraced us, asking whether we were friends: they also made offer of their women to us, with great insistence, and seemed much crestfallen at our non-compliance. We noted many strange customs during the time of our stay which must make their lives pretty uncomfortable; especially for the women, whom they treat with disdain. These latter are not permitted to eat in the presence of the men, for they believe that it would be lacking in respect, and that their principal God Teatua would chastise them for doing so, by making them one-eyed, withered-armed, or deformed. The men dwell apart from the women, and the sons from the fathers; each having his own little hut. They marry only one wife; but if either of the couple desires it they revert to single blessedness. Unmarried women are free [lances], but not liable to compulsion on the part of the men. They think meanly of being virgins, and resent being twitted with it.

There are several castes of people: the greater number, by their physiognomy, resemble Asiatics; but there are others like Europeans. They are tall and well built; the Chiefs, as a rule, are men of finer presence, and are much respected by the commoners. Their dietary consists merely of the fruits the country produces in abundance, of which the principal ones are *Eurus*,

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finished drawing, in water tints, was exhibited in the Royal Academy twelve years later (no. 452 in the catalogue) when Webber was an Associate: it, or a replica, is now in the British Museum [Add. MSS. 15513 (14)], where there is also a duplicate of it in monochrome [K 7 Tab. 74 (4)]. A coloured copper-plate engraving of the same drawing was published by Boydell in 1808.

[1] Quite true: tattoo'd.

[2] Written *Ery* or *Hery* everywhere in this as in all the other MSS. of these expeditions.

coco-nuts, plantains, and *Evies*[1], with some roots that supplement them in times when the former are scarce.

They are not acquainted with any liquor other than the juice of a plant they cultivate with some care and name *Eava*; it is of such potency that, besides making them very drunk, it renders the skin scaly and ragged. As it is not very plentiful, only the *arii* and a few Chiefs use it[2].

They know no animals but pigs, dogs, and rats. They eat the first two kinds when roasted; but sparingly, as they are not too plentiful. There are some very small hens, and divers sorts of birds, the most noteworthy being certain small parrots of a purple colour with red feet and bill; but so delicate that they all[3] died in 42° [of latitude S.].

The climate is very hot, and on this account the natives spend a great part of the day in the water. Their clothing is merely a breech-clout; some of the women put on a garment like a sheet, that they make out of the bark of *Euru*. In their *heybas*[4] or dances they go quite nude and make movements of the most licentious character.

To describe their mode of life and strange customs in further detail would be to make this narrative tedious; I will therefore put down some of those that have seemed to me most out of the common, such as a fraternity they call the *Aryois*, made up of every grade of people, whose code requires fathers to destroy their children as soon as born, to help one another in their needs, and to occupy their lives with continual pastimes. It is also to be noted that when the *arii* have a male child they resign their office and submit to the son's rule so soon as he grows up.

They offer up human sacrifices, on the *arii* being taken with a dangerous illness, in order that Teatua may restore him to health. This affair is managed by the *tahua*, who are like a kind of presbyters: the victims die in the most cruel manner, by dint of stoning and being dragged along alive.

Besides Teatua, who is the principal one, they have other private gods, each person to himself. When they see a mist rising over against an island near-by, named *Morea*, they believe it means that Teatua wishes them to go and make war on the people of it: they are their greatest enemies, through having killed an *arii* who had gone across to take possession of some lands in that island, that he had inherited; for in this particular they follow the same procedure as ourselves, and keep inviolably to it.

The principal *arii* are two [in number], named Vehiatua and Otù. The second belongs to the District of *Opare*; he is the

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[1] *Uru*, breadfruit; and *vi*, the South Sea Island mango or 'hog-plum.'

[2] *Cf.* pp. 85, note 1, and 130, note 2.

[3] See p. 288, note 4.

[4] *Heiva.*

more powerful, and commands the most respect. They do not dress differently from the rest.

These people are very affable and engaging in manner, but very selfish. They set a high value on axes, knives, bits of iron, nails, and sundry red or black stuffs among those we took them. They did not show any repugnance to things concerning our religion, of which we discoursed to them on occasions; they said, rather, that our Teatua put life into us by day, whereas theirs kept them always asleep; since he hadn't endued them with skill to manufacture commodities such as ours.

They are not acquainted with any kind of metal, but for such tools as they have need of they employ a hard stone, out of which they fabricate them. They do not value either gold or silver; but pearls are of great price in their sight, and, although of bad quality and small size, they collect a few with which the women adorn their ears.

We learned from three natives of the island of *Orayroa*[1], who were driven ashore here in a storm, that they have pearls in greater plenty over there. According to their story those people are subjects of an *arii*, and differ but little in customs and appearance from these of *Otaheti*.

LETTER IN REPLY

from the Duchess of MEDINA SIDONIA to Don BLAS DE BARREDA.

My dear Sir:

I am in receipt of Your Honour's [letter] of the 24th of April of the present [year], and much value your courteous expressions, and the narrative giving particulars of the new islands discovered in the Pacific ocean, which you have been so good as to send me, as well as the endeavour Your Honour made to find amongst their natives some herb or specific against Cancer: for all of which, and your promise to forward some specimens of Natural History pertaining to the said island, I repeat my grateful thanks, hoping that frequent opportunities may occur in which I can oblige you, and that Our Lord may preserve Your Honour's life for many years.

Madrid: November 5, 1776.

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[1] *O Ra'iroa.*

X.

(*References: passim.*)

EXTRACT

from "A Log of the proceedings of His Majesty's Sloop *Discovery*, Charles Clerke Esq. commander: 1776–1777–1778. Kept by Thomas Edgar[1], Master."

P.R.O. Ships' Logs. Supply Series II. no. 21.

Wednesday, 13th [August, 1777].....On our arrival at this place[2] we were given to understand that 2 Ships about the Latter end of 1774 arriv'd here—that these people call'd them *Tata no Reema*[3], which gave everbody reason to suppose they must have been Ships from Lima in New Spain. the same Afternoon Capt. Cooke[4] went on Shore and found a small wooden House containing two Rooms on the Ground Floor, and which had certainly been built elsewhere and brought out ready to put together, for the Planks were all Number'd & the Iron Work very compleat, it had one Double Door and instead of Windows there were small square holes with Sliding Shutters on the inside, they were one from another about 4 feet, at the Ends as well as at the sides, and the holes themselves about 12 inches Long & 6 wide. it appear'd to me that this House was to serve as a place of retreat if necessary, where ½ a Dozen Men might defend themselves with Musketts against as many hundreds of the Natives with Spears &c.

about 50 Yards in front of the House stands a large Crucifix Cross—on the cross piece which [*sic*] was carv'd CHRISTUS × VINCIT and on the post or erect piece CAROLUS III IMPERAT × 1774. this was at once a convincing proof that they were Spaniards. a certain space round the House was wall'd in with loose Stones about 2½ feet high and they had a Large House built of Bamboo adjacent for Lodging their Sick people in.

The Day after our Arrival Captn Cooke went to visit Whyattua the *Aree* of *Tiarraboo*[5] and who the Last Voyage was a very fine handsome Youth, but was surprized when they brought in a Boy

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[1] For some observations on Edgar's log see the Prefatory Remarks in this volume. This Extract is taken from the original in Edgar's handwriting, signed by him.

[2] *i.e.* the Bay of *Vaitepiha*, now usually called *Tautira* anchorage, and on the chart at p. 120 "Mouillage de Cook." Edgar wrote "*Oaiti Peha* Bay."

[3] Properly *Taata no Rima*—people of Lima.

[4] Edgar persistently spelt Cook with an 'e' added.

[5] *i.e.* O Vehiatua, the *arii* of *Taiarapu*.

8 years old, but on enquiry he found the Young man had paid the Debt of Nature, and this was a younger Brother, who succeeded to the Crown[1]. the Captain and the Young King then as it is common Exchanged Names, and the Boy was presented with several things. The Man that had the care of the Young Chief inform'd Captn Cooke after the ceremonys were Over that he could have no refreshments there, and that he must go to *Mattavi*[2]. on being ask'd the reason he said that the Spaniards had Ordered him to inform any English Ships that came there, that the Harbour of *Oaiti Peha* was theirs, the Spaniards', and that if the English ask'd for anything or came there, to turn them out. Captn Cooke's reply was that he would not go out [untill he thought proper[3]] and that he would have whatever he wanted—which was the case while we stay'd here, as Everything came in the greatest Plenty. however, the Aree obey'd the Order he had receiv'd.

Some short time after the Spanish Ships Arrival here, the Commodore who was an old Man Died & was buried near to the Cross in front of the Spanish House.

Next it appears from the best accounts we could get that in the Latter end of 1774 the Spaniards Landed in *Oaiti-peha* for the first time, that after staying about 3 Months they sail'd for New Spain. they took with them four of the Natives, two of which Died on the Passage. they left behind them a Man the Natives call'd *Matimo* and by their Description 2 Fryars and a Servant, for whom I suppose this House was brought Out. about the Latter end of 1776 the Ships return'd for these People and Brought with them one of the Natives, the other remaining at Lima, and was this time I believe they Left the Cattle, or Bull & Cow, the Latter died, several Hogs, Dogs, & Goats. the Bull was one of the finest animals of his kind ever seen, the Goats and Hogs very Large, and the Latter have been of the greatest service to the Breed at *Tïarraboo*.

The Red feathers we brought from the friendly Islands kept our credit from totally sinking, of these the Spaniards had none, and as these people give the Preference to Feathers to everything[4] else they were of the most essential service to us in purchasing Hogs, Roots & Curiosities.

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[1] Little Vehiatua must have been just ten years old at this time; two years had passed since his accession. Ellis and Samwell, both surgeons, who saw him at this date, set him down as ten; and the *Padres*, writing in their diary on January 15, 1775, called him eight (p. 214). See also p. 331, note 2; and p. 344, note 1.

[2] *Matavai*.

[3] The words between brackets occur in the B.M. transcript, but are not in the original.

[4] The B.M. transcript here reads "beyond anything" in the place of "to everything." There are a few other such verbal discrepancies of no import.

14th.—[Technical remarks and directions for entering & leaving the bay, anchoring, wooding and watering, refreshments &c.]

15.—.....Before we left this place Captn Cooke set off some Fire Works which highly pleased the Young King and all the Natives.

The Day before we left *Tiarraboo* Capt. Cooke took down the Cross, and on the Opposite side to the Spanish Inscription had carv'd as follows ~ GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX, ANNIS 1767·1769·1773·1774·1777 ~ and again erected it in the same place where it stood before.—

XI.

SHORT EXTRACTS FROM CAPTAIN COOK'S NARRATIVE OF HIS THIRD VOYAGE (1777) TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

[For Captain Cook's own account of his discovery of the Spaniards' hospice, and the Cross, at Tautira, see pp. 9–12 of vol. II of his published narrative: Bibl. no. 28.]

[*Vol.* II: *p.* 12.]—The natives pointed out to us, near the foot of the cross, the grave of the Commodore of the two ships, who had died here, while they lay in the bay, the first time. His name, as they pronounced it, was Oreede[1]. Whatever the intentions of the Spaniards, in visiting this island, might be, they seemed to have taken great pains to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants; who, upon every occasion, mentioned them with the strongest expressions of esteem and veneration.

[*p.* 25.]—Soon after our arrival here, [at *Matavai*] one of the natives, whom the Spaniards had carried with them to Lima, paid us a visit; but, in his external appearance, he was not distinguishable from the rest of his countrymen. However, he had not forgot some Spanish words which he had acquired, though he pronounced them badly. Amongst them, the most frequent were, *si Sennor*; and, when a stranger was introduced to him, he did not fail to rise up and accost him, as well as he could. [Was this Puhoro?—Ed.]

[1] I cannot account for this name, as applied to Boenechea. But his successor Gayangos exchanged names with O Reti, the Chief of Hitiaa who is elsewhere mentioned as having also been Bougainville's *taio* or *hoa*; and it is possible that some confusion occurred in the course of interpretation between the Comandante who died and the Comandante who thereupon assumed the command. If Boenechea's dignity suffered him to exchange names with any one, it may be supposed that Tu, or at least Vehiatua, would have been the corresponding party.

[*p.* 77.]—I have already mentioned the visit that I had from one of the two natives of this island, who had been carried by the Spaniards to Lima. I never saw him afterward: which I rather wondered at, as I had received him with uncommon civility..... I did not meet with the other, who had returned from Lima: but Captain Clerke, who had seen him, spoke of him as a low fellow, and as a little out of his senses. [Was this Pautu?—Ed.]

XII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MS. JOURNAL OF WILLIAM BAYLY, ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVER WITH CAPTAIN COOK IN THE *RESOLUTION*.

[The following passages occur in the journal written by Mr Bayly, but never published, which was formerly in the possession of the late Henry Beaufoy Esq. Bayly accompanied Capt. Cook on his second, and also third, voyages into the Pacific; having previously taken part in an expedition to the North Cape despatched thither to observe the transit of Venus, in 1769. He was the son of a small farmer in Hampshire; and, though in his boyhood he had followed the plough, he early developed a taste and an aptitude for mathematics, which he lost no opportunity of improving. In fact, from being a student, he presently became a teacher; and it was not long before he was so fortunate as to secure a post as assistant at the Royal Observatory, for which he was nominated by Dr Maskelyne. It was from thence that he was chosen to accompany Capt. Cook as "observator"; and the fact that he went a second time with that commander in the *Resolution* affords good testimony of Bayly's worth and ability. His only published works are records of the sets of observations he took and worked out during his three voyages. An obituary notice of William Bayly's career appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1811 (Part i).

The *Resolution* had quitted Tahiti in 1777 on the 29th of September, and left Porapora—the last of the Society Islands—behind some days before the 13th of December, which is the date prefixed to the second extract following. The journal (Bibl. no. MSS. 31, *a* and *b*) is not now available for reference; but this date may have been the one when the entry was written up.—Ed.]

1773. August 23rd. At *Oaitepeha*.—This morning the 23rd Capts. Cook and Furneaux had an interview with the *Aree de hoi* or King, who treated them Kindly, giving them a hog and some pieces of cloth. He is a young man about 18 and well made and of a good complexion, but appears either a fool by nature or made so by his good subjects or Ministers. He was coming down to the Bay when the Capt. met him, attended by his prime Minister who seems an intelligent clever Man, for an Indian. He [the Minister] appeared to be turned of 40, and by way of distinction is *tatowed* or marked all over his body, so that he appeared black at a distance. The next principal officer seemed to be his stool-bearer, or throne bearer. The King or *Aree* always sits on a stool, and his subjects on mats round him, so that his stool-bearer carries his stool after him when he goes from place to place, and when he halts sits [*sic*] down his stool for the King to sit on. This grand *Aree* of little Otaheite is called Oyatoa[1]; his father's name was Yatoa[1].

1777. December 13th.—The natives informed us that there had been two ships here from Rima or more properly Lima, from whence we understood the Spaniards from Lima had been here. They told us that the greates [*sic*] man died and was buried on shore, and that they had left a house on shore[2].

* * * * *

The men tell us the Spaniards had very little commerce with their women, for the Commodore punished any man very severely if he was known to cohabit with a woman, and would not suffer any woman to go on board and sleep even with an officer[3].

* * * * *

Extract from the Supplement to Bayly's journal, marked "*This paper from the Lieut. Ass^t Mr Phillips.*"—

The 18th. Capt. Cook was introduced to the King—he is a young, well made, sprightly lad about 12 or 13 years of age,

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[1] Intended for Vehiatua, the titular designation or dynastic name of the *arii rahi* or supreme Chiefs of *Taiarapu*. It is sometimes very difficult to draw the line between V and W in old Tahitian: so much so that I have sometimes been tempted to wonder whether the V now prevailing may be in some measure due to French influence. Cook wrote 'Waheatoua' and 'Waheiadooa': Forster spelt it uniformly Aheatua and O-Aheatua, discarding the V or W altogether in favour of the personal article O. The same author mentions the "prime Minister" (as Bayly styles him) by name—E-Tee, and also describes his tattooing. He was in fact Vehiatua's step-father Ti'i-torea, a good Chief and adviser. See also the Prefatory Remarks.

[2] Here follows, in the MS., the paragraph already printed in the foot-note at pp. 211–12.

[3] This passage is printed because it helps to show how conscientiously Boenechea enforced the Viceroy's injunction to him in Art. 31 of the Instructions [vol. I, p. 276].

and appear'd to be of a good disposition.....He is brother to the late King who died in 1765 [*sic*][1]: a young man 23 or 24 years of age when he died, and had no children. The late King's name was Oyeatooa[2], and the present has taken the same name with his Brother. When Capt. Cook was introduced to the young King, together with Omai, the Chiefs told them that the Spaniards had desired them not to let us have any supplys of Hogs and Fruit when we came again, but to tell us to go to *Mattavai* (that is, to another part of the Island) for that was their part of it. Capt. Cook told them that the Spaniards had no right to prevent his going to any part of the Island or to lay any injunction on them. They gave him for answer that notwithstanding what the Spaniards said he should be supplied with everything the Island produced, and the young King immediately changed names with Capt. Cook. Capt. Cook took down the Cross which was erected by the Spaniards, and engraved on its other side *Georgius Tirtius Rex* 1769-72-74 & 77 [*sic*]; and set it up again where it stood before.

XIII.

(*References:* vol. II, *passim.*)

EXTRACT

FROM THE PRINTED NARRATIVE BY WILLIAM ELLIS, SURGEON'S MATE OF H.M.S. *Discovery*, UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPT. CHARLES CLERKE.

[In a valedictory letter written to Banks by Capt. Clerke on board the *Resolution* six months after Capt. Cook's death, and only five days before his own, which he knew was imminent, he says "I must beg leave to recommend to your notice Mr Will. Ellis, one of the surgeon's mates, who will furnish you with some drawings and accounts of the various birds which will come to your possession. He has been very useful to me in your service in that particular; and is, I believe, a very worthy young man."

Ellis's book [Bibl. no. 107] does him, on the whole, much credit; and supplies many interesting details of the events of the voyage; but it is now scarce, especially the first edition.—ED.]

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[1] A slip of the pen for 1775.

[2] *Cf.* p. 478, note 1.

[At Tahiti, *Vaitepiha* Bay, August 14th, 1777.] (*p.* 124.)—AFTER some general enquiries, we found that Oberea and Wyeatuah (who was king of Otaheiteee-te [*sic*], or Tiarraboo[1], when captain Cook was last here) were dead; and that some other ships had been there some time after the *Resolution's* departure. This information of course excited our curiosity a good deal, and we enquired more particularly into it. They told us, that about the latter end of the year 1774, there arrived two ships from Remah (by which we supposed they meant Lima), that the people who came in them staid between three and four months, and had erected a house on shore. During their residence, the commander, whose name was Oridde[2], died, and was buried on shore some little distance from the house. At the departure of the ships, they took with them four of the natives, who voluntarily [*p.* 125] offered to go, and left behind them a young man called Marteemo[3], and two priests

At the end of about two months they returned and brought with them only one of the natives; two having died at Lima, and the other choosing to remain there. They appeared this second time to be in a great hurry, and after a short stay (during which time they were employed in wooding and watering), took back Marteemo and the two priests, leaving strict orders with Wyeatuah to take care of the house, &c. as they intended to return in a short time; but however they never made their appearance again.

These were the heads of our information, which, as Omai was our interpreter, might come something near the truth.

The house, which was a wooden one, was divided into two rooms, one behind the other; the windows, or rather port-holes, opened and shut in the inside with sliders. It is likely that the house was [*p.* 126] made at the place from whence the ships came, as every plank was numbered. The furniture was very inconsiderable, consisting of a table, two or three stools, an old tub, an old gold laced hat, and a few other trifling articles.

At some distance in the front of the house, upon the spot where the commander was buried, was erected a large cross with this carved inscription upon it, *Christus vincit, Carolus tertius imperat.* Captain Cook ordered it to be taken down, and the following words to be put upon it, *Georgius tertius, annis* 1767, 69, 74, 77.

Marteemo, as far as we could understand, was a very sensible, clever young man, and held in much esteem by the natives. It seems probable that he was left there with a view of learning the language, manners, and customs of the country; in the former he

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[1] Properly "Purea and Vehiatua (who was king of *Tahiti iti*, or *Taiarapu*)." As to Purea see vol. I, p. 323, note. Her real name was Airoro Atua.

[2] See the note on p. 476.

[3] Tah. *Matimo*—for Máximo Rodríguez, the interpreter.

[*i.e.* O Mai, acting as interpreter for Capt. Cook's officers] told us he was very intelligent. The two priests no doubt were to endeavour to make converts, but they did not appear to be very successful [*p.* 127], for we could discover no traces of the good effect of their apostolical mission; and it is not unlikely that the reverend fathers might be so far led astray by the good things of the island, and the condescension of its female inhabitants, as totally to forget the business they were sent upon[1].

The man who had been at Lima was frequently on board the ships, and very readily answered any questions we put to him relative to his treatment, &c. there. He appeared to like the Spaniards very well, but frequently expressed his surprize at their not having red feathers (which are with these people the *summum bonum* and extent of all their wishes) as well as us. In this respect we were very fortunate, having laid in a good stock at the Friendly Isles. Among many of our daily visitors was a man called Orettee[2], who was an old *taio* of M. Bougainville's: seldom a day passed without this man's dining on board the ships, where he generally [*p.* 128] contrived to get drunk. Of our female visitors, a woman whose name was Poorahi[3] was the principal; she became captain Clerke's *taio* and exchanged names with him. She generally had a fine young girl with her, whose name was Outopah, of a most winning and engaging behaviour.

* * * * *

At a little distance from the ships was a remarkably pleasant valley, which ran winding between the mountains to a great distance; in the midst of it is a fine stream of water, which at the head of the valley takes its rise from a beautiful cascade that appears to burst out of the rocks. On each side the stream are placed the houses of the natives, interspersed with plantations of bananas, coco-nuts, bread-fruit, and a kind of apple-tree: the lofty hills on each side, whose tops reach beyond the clouds, the variety of birds which are continually flying from place to place, and the noise of the falling water re-echoed by the surrounding hills, afford a scene striking beyond description.

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[1] A groundless innuendo, as the records now published amply show. Ellis deserves censure for printing his suspicions; for, however unsuccessful the *Padres* were as apostles of their Faith, they certainly left no evidence behind them which could justify any aspersion on their own moral conduct.

[2] O Reti, Chief of *Hitiaa*, again [see p. 476, note; and vol. I, p. 312, note 7].

[3] O Purahi (lit. 'the embonpoint'). This was the familiar name of Te Vahine Moeatua, daughter of Aromaiterai and Tetuaunurau. She became the daughter-in-law of one Vehiatua, wife (and afterwards widow) of another, and mother of two others. At the time of the Spaniards' visits she was married to her second husband, Ti'itorea, who was thus Vehiatua's step-father, and not merely—as Bayly describes him in the foregoing Paper no. XII—his "prime Minister." Ellis is the only English writer who quotes Purahi's name correctly: the Spaniards always cite her as 'Opu' or 'Opo,' for short.

Ohitapeah is the principal place of Otaheitee-ete, being the residence of the king and most of the principal people. The present king is a minor, and son to the late Wyeatuah; he is about ten years old, and is a fine lively sensible boy.

[*p.* 130.]—The *morai* of the late king stands upon the banks of a rivulet not far from the Spanish house; it is very neatly fenced in with bamboo, and the corpse is placed upon a kind of bier, and wrapped up in a great quantity of cloth, over which are spread several pieces of scarlet woollen cloth, which had been given him by the Spaniards. His house is at a little distance from the *morai*, but almost tumbled to pieces; for these people never repair or live in the house of any one that is dead—that and everything belonging to it being *raa*, as they call it, which word has nearly the same meaning as *taboo* at the Friendly Isles, and means unlawful or forbid. For instance, if you ask any of the women to eat while the men are present, they will shake their heads and say it is *maa raa*, or meat which they are forbid to eat.

These good people, notwithstanding they supplied us very largely with every produce of the place, yet in several respects [*p.* 131] had lost that degree of cordiality for us which was experienced in the course of the former voyage. This we had great reason to attribute to the insinuations and mal-practices of the Spaniards, who (if the natives are to be relied on) took every method to lessen that friendship and good opinion which they saw these people entertained for us, by representing us as a set of idle, piratical people, who lived entirely by plunder: that we had no place of abode, but were obliged to cruize about from place to place to procure a living, with many other circumstances equally false and unjust.

The behaviour of the Spaniards during their stay was truely characteristic; scarce any of the natives were permitted to enter the great cabin, and not a woman was suffered to come on board. The commander never went on shore without a guard to receive him; which with the advantage they had over us in fine scarlet cloths (for the people of Otaheitee, like [*p.* 132] most others, are fond of shew), and the great state they always assumed, absolutely got the better of our poor friends, and they looked upon them almost as a superior race of beings. However, we in some measure overcame their prejudices against us, and by dealing out our presents (particularly red feathers) in a judicious manner, they readily confessed we were more valuable *taios* than the Dons.

The Spaniards left behind several hogs, goats, and dogs, and likewise a bull and cow; the latter died, but the bull was kept at *Oparre*, the residence of Otoo, and was really a fine animal.

We staid at this place till the 23d instant, when we weighed our anchors, and stood out of the harbour, at nine in the morning, with several of the natives on board as passengers.

XIV

(*Reference*: p. 402, note.)

EXTRACT FROM

Some account of a Voyage to South Sea's, In 1776–1777–1778.

Written by DAVID SAMWELL, surgeon of the *Discovery*.

Bibl. no., MSS. 25 *ter*.

August 20th.—The Spanish Cross before mentioned was taken on Board the *Resolution* by Capt. Cook's order and on the opposite side to the Spanish inscription the Carpenter engraved "*Georgius tertius Rex, An.* 1767–1769–1773, 1774, 1777", which are the different years his Majesty's Ships have been at Otaheite. The Cross was then carried on shore and erected in the Place it was taken from. B.M. Eg. 2591.

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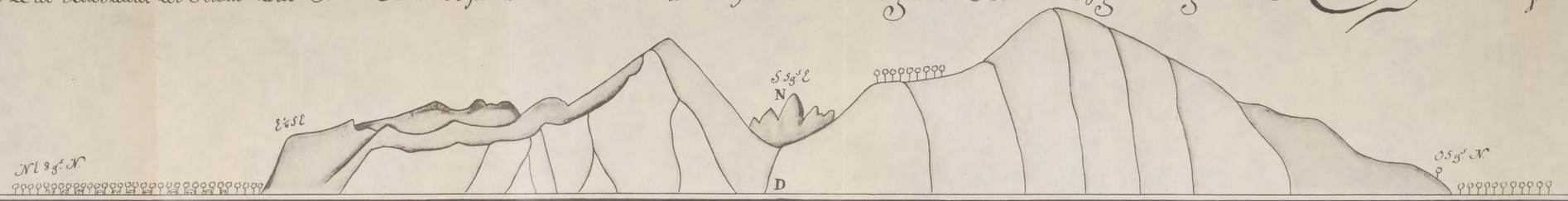

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A. Punta del Puerto de Ojatutira - - - - - - - - -
B. Casa de Los Padres Misioneros y Poplacion de Los Naturales.
C. Rio donde Nauegan Canoas y de Aguadulsa y mala acausa de la mar que entra en el y Siga para dentro de la quebrada de Ojatutira N quebrada de Ojatutira - -
D. Parte del Rio y Remate del Zerro de las palmas
E. Caleta de bueno de Sembarcadero y Bueno agua de vnos Rios pequeños que tiene, en ellos y simo la aguada —
F. Poblasion Pequeña del Puerto de La Virgen - - - - -
Q Arecifes donde Rompe el mar y los Baña - - - - -
H. Baxo de Piedra Mucara. en el medio del Puerto de la Virgen. en el Rompe mucho el mar - - - - -
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b. Fondeadero de la Frag.ta de Su Mag.d La Aguila - - -
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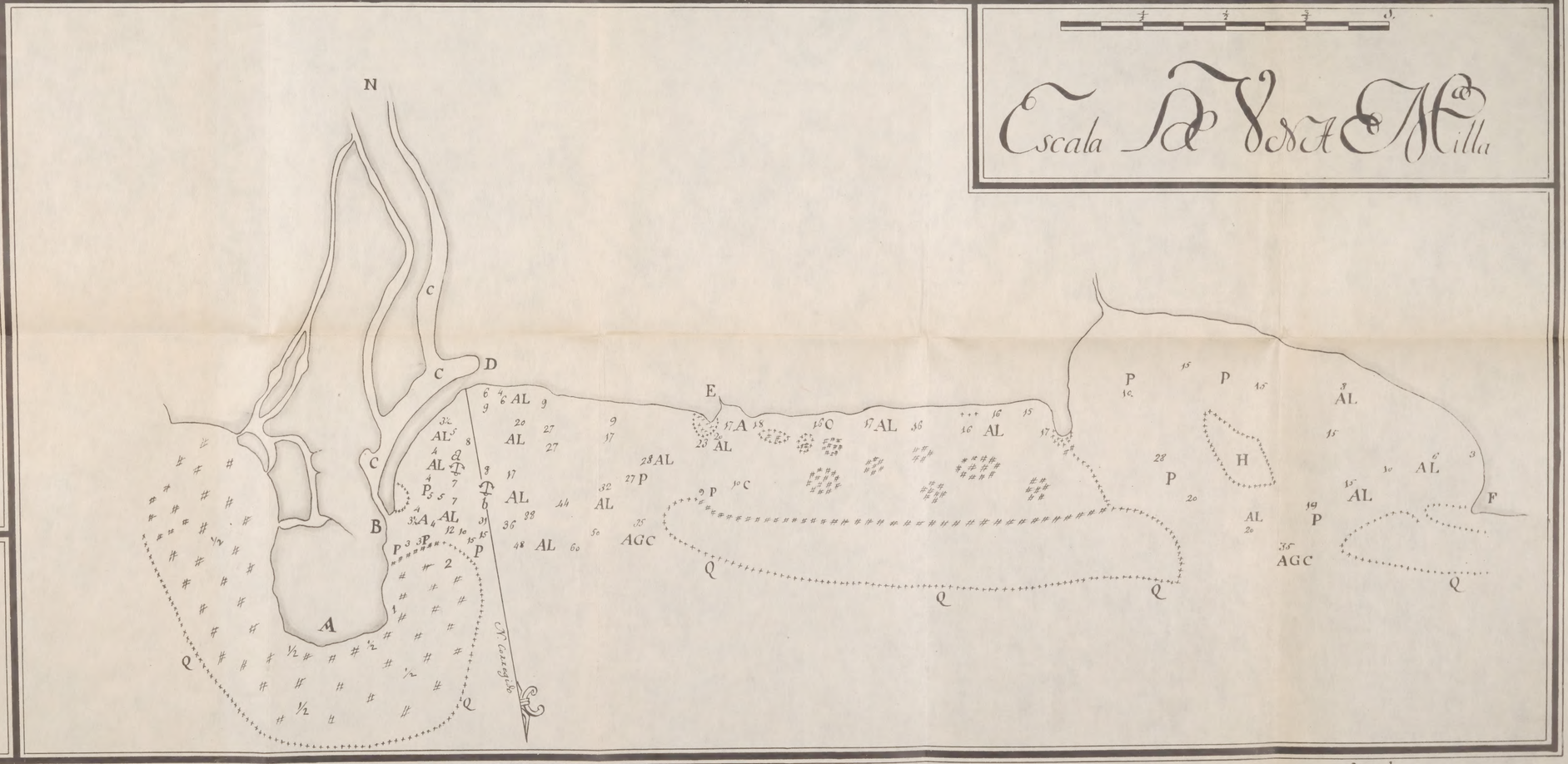

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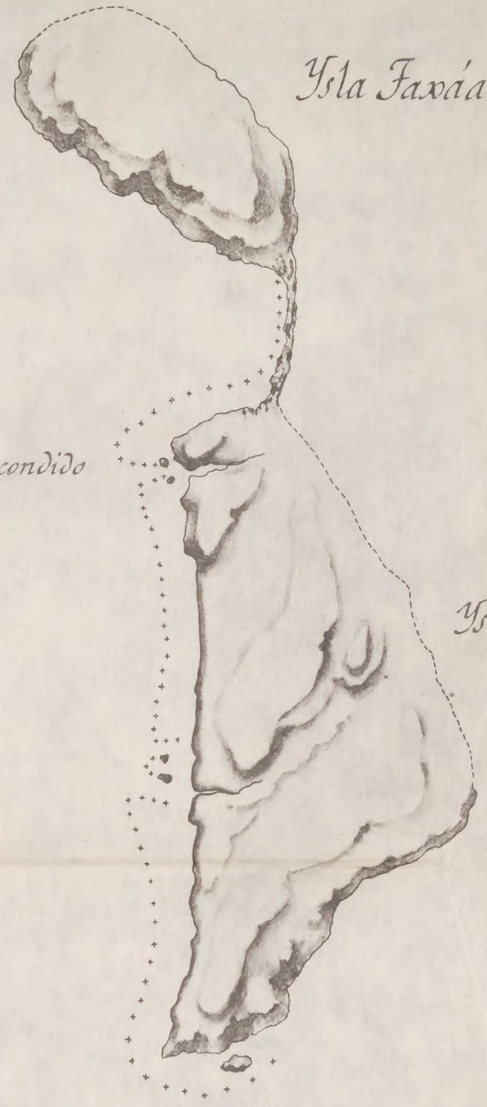

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